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of

Paul Z. Bedoukian

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface vii

Map viii

Fifty Years of Armenian Numismatics: An Autobiography 1

Յիսուն տարի հայ դրամագիտութիւն (Ինքնակենսագրութիւն) [Fifty Years of Armenian Numismatics: An Autobiography] 18

Ancient Period

Coinage of the Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene 39

Ծոփքի և Կոմմագենէի հայ թագաւորութեանց դրամները [Coinage of the Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene] 51

Some Unpublished Coins of the Artaxiads of Armenia 70

An Unpublished Coin of Tigranes III (20-8 B.C.) 78

Արտաշէսեան հարստութեան դրամները [Coins of the Artaxiads of Armenia] 81

Medieval Period

Coinage of Roupen I (1080-1095), (The First Ruler of Cilician Armenia) 88

A Rare Copper Coin of Baron Roupen II (1175-1187) of Cilician Armenia 94

The Single Lion Coronation Coins of Levon I 99

The First King of Cilician Armenia: Levon I or Levon II? 108

Two Hoards of Levon II Trams 112

Some Curious One-Sided Coins 128

Some Curious Coins from Cilician Armenia 131

A Silver Hoard of Smpad of Cilician Armenia 135

Two Unpublished Coins of King Smpad of Cilician Armenia: Propaganda in the Turbulent Decade 1289-1299 142

A Hoard of Coronation Trams of Oshin 152

Half Trams of Oshin and Levon IV of Cilician Armenia 165

Cilician Armenia and Crusader Antioch 170
The Small, Armed-Man Coins of Baldwin II 201
Coinage of Tripoli (XIIth-XIIIth Century) 210

Numismatic and Metal Art

Mints and Money, Armenian 232
Minting Technique in Cilician Armenia 235
Numismatic Art of Armenia 248
Metal Art in Armenia 251

Modern Period

Armenian Ringstones 254
Երկու հայկական դրամներ [Two Armenian coins] 263
Armenian Gold Medals 267
An Armenian Medal, Struck in 1908 by Patriarch Izmirlian of Constantinople, in Commemoration of the Establishment of a New Constitution in the Ottoman Empire Guaranteeing Equality for All 281
A Medal of the Armenian College in Calcutta 286
A Magnificent Armenian Tray 290
Հայկական սկիհ մը [An Armenian Chalice] 304
An Eighteenth Century Armenian Triptych 307

Miscellaneous

A Numismatic Pilgrimage 312
Paul Z. Bedoukian Lecture 321
Father Sibilian and the Study of Armenian Numismatics 326
Զարեհ Պտուկեանի և Ամերիկայի գրադարաններու հայ հնատիպ գիրքերու ցանկը [Catalogue of Armenian Books, Early Printings 1512-1700, from the Collection of Paul Zareh Bedoukian and American Libraries] 335
Review of [*The Circulation of Money in Armenia (Vth Century B.C. – XIVth Century A.D.)*], by Kh. A. Mousheghian 343
Reviews of *Armenian Numismatic Bibliography and Literature*, by Y. T. Nercessian 346

Bibliography 351
Index 364
Plates 377

PREFACE

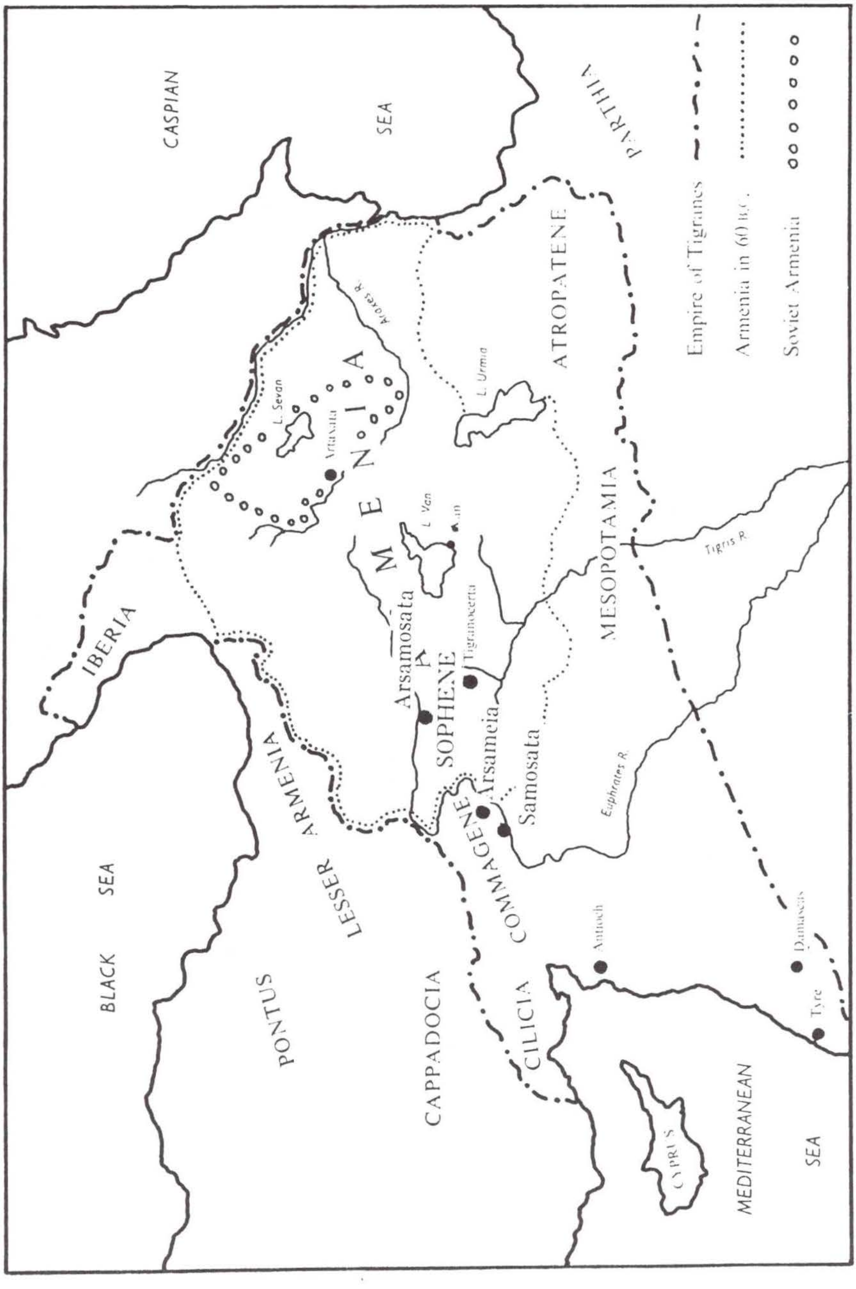
Some twenty years ago the Armenian Numismatic Society published *Selected Numismatic Studies* of Paul Z. Bedoukian, as *Special Publication,* No. 1. Since then, Bedoukian penned some forty scholarly articles and several books.

The purpose of *Selected Numismatic Studies II*, as before, is to collect Bedoukian's essays, composed after the publication of SNS [I], into a single volume, since they are to be found scattered in various scholarly periodicals such as the American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes, Armenian Numismatic Journal, Armenian Review, Armenian Studies in Memoriam Haïg Berbérian, Bazmavep, Dictionary of the Middle Ages, Handes Amsorya, The Numismatic Chronicle, Revue Belge de Numismatique, Revue des Études Arméniennes*, and *Sion.* The SNS II makes Bedoukian's research papers available to the entire numismatic community.

The second volume of *Selected Numismatic Studies* also pays a posthumous tribute to a scholar who became the modern architect of Armenian numismatics.

Paul Bedoukian sealed his life at the age of 89, on June 29, 2001.

Y. T. Nercessian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FIFTY YEARS OF ARMENIAN NUMISMATICS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Mr. Yeghia Nercessian, the founder of the Armenian Numismatic Society, met me in New York back in 1984, and informed me of the Society's decision to issue a special volume dedicated to my numismatic efforts. Naturally, I was touched by this recognition, until he asked me to write an autobiographical chapter, at which point embarrassment and pain took over. He insisted, however, that this was something I had to do—his most convincing argument being that since several short biographies of me by others had been included in my *Selected Numismatic Studies* published in 1981, little more could be written that was new, and therefore, an autobiography was a "must."

As I began this task, I found that I could not write a conventional piece. Fortunately, my brother Kerop, in his book *Some of Us Survived*, has given a most interesting account of our family's life from World War I to 1926, the year we arrived in Canada, and I feel I need not repeat here what has been said by him.

Certain happenings which must be of deep significance to me kept intruding on my thoughts as I tried to reminisce, and these I put down on paper. They may be part of the circumstances which have shaped the direction of my life.

As a child, I recall my mother telling me that when I was born in Sebastia (the youngest of 8 children), my father set aside a bag of gold coins so that when I came of age I would be able to go to Germany to study agriculture. My father, who collected and marketed the crops of both Armenian and Turkish peasants and handled their finances, apparently was anxious to have me learn how to employ more modern methods of raising crops.

Mother's family included religious leaders and scholars. She often

told me how impressed she had been by the story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Armenian translation) which her father used to read to the members of his household.

Her younger sister had been sent to America by my father so that she could study pedagogy. Another aunt had been educated in Europe and was the first person to start an Armenian kindergarten in the Ottoman Empire. When the Turkish governor ordered her to open a similar school for the children of prominent Turkish families, she complied and soon Turkish children were singing Armenian songs and playing Armenian games.

With the coming of World War I, all such cooperative efforts abruptly ended, and the first genocide of the twentieth century began. Over a million and a half Armenians were killed and countless others driven into the Arabian deserts. When two hundred thousand Armenian volunteers joined the Russian armies and advanced into Armenia, they found it depopulated. Of course, heroic defenses also became part of Armenian history. Franz Werfel's *Forty Days of Musa Dagh* was duplicated in localities near the Russian border. In 1918, the Allies promised the people the return of their ancestral land, and Woodrow Wilson even drew the boundaries of a free Armenia, but it was not meant to be. With the advent of Communism, the Allies threw their support to Turkey and hundreds of thousands of Armenians were left homeless.

Mother and her four surviving children were stranded in Aleppo, Syria. Enterprising person that she was, she became captain of the refugee camp and was charged with the distribution of food. She hoped to be able to move us all to Cilicia, a French protectorate, but after its evacuation by the French (another betrayal by the Allies), my aunt in America helped us leave for Constantinople. Later she sent money for my two sisters to emigrate to America, but funds were not available for rest of us. With the rise to power of Kemal Ataturk and a resurgence of Turkish nationalism, we were again forced to move, this time to Bulgaria. Here in a Christian country, the atmosphere was entirely different. Bulgarians were sympathetic to Armenians since for centuries they had suffered a similar fate at the hands of the Turks. Mother managed to enroll me in Mesrobian College, a private elementary school established by Kevork Mesrob,

a teacher and historian of note. I still remember this vibrant short man, a patriot imbued with the idealism of an Armenian intellectual, and his watch chain to which was attached a silver coin with an Armenian legend. (I know now that it was a tram of Hetoum-Zabel). It was said that he could sit down and write an entire history of Armenia from memory. His teaching staff consisted of an Armenian officer who had fought as a volunteer in the French army occupying Cilicia. Another instructor was an Armenian with a poetic soul who spent half of his time reciting poetry and instilling in his students a love of our language and cultural past. Our mathematics and science teachers, graduates of Robert College in Constantinople, tried in vain to make us understand that the age of science was approaching and that neither poetry nor history could earn us a living.

It was 1925, and I was still mesmerized by the Hetoum-Zabel coin. I went to grocery stores and asked if any old coins were available for purchase. Surprisingly, many storekeepers had old Byzantine or Roman coins in their cash boxes and were willing to sell them to me for a pittance. At the age of 13, I also recall visiting the Bulgarian National Museum and being entranced by their silver tetradrachms of Tigranes.

The following year, I was in the first graduating class of Mesrobian College. Two weeks after school was over, we emigrated to Canada, thanks to the efforts of my aunt and her husband, Dr. M. Mihran. Several months later, I received a congratulatory letter from Kevork Mesrob, with my diploma which I have kept to this day.

Life in Canada was not easy for newcomers like us. I was placed with a woman chiropractor, away from my family, so that I could learn English as quickly as possible. She was a wonderful and religious woman, who insisted that I go to church three times on Sundays. And being a vegetarian herself, she served me meat only once a week. This was sheer torture for a growing boy of fourteen. In desperation, I wrote my brother, who had been sent to live with a farmer, urging him to find a job for me at the farm, or else! Kerop presented my case to his employer, Mr. Hindley, a kindly Canadian farmer, who consented to let me come, help with the chores, and attend the local school.

Thus in January, 1927 I went to Ospringe. The schoolhouse was a classic one-room building. I was put in a lower grade than my age warranted because of my poor grasp of the English language (four years lower). In other words, I would be graduating from elementary school at the age of 17. Realizing the implications this would have, I went to the blackboard one day and wrote in large letters, TIME IS MONEY. When our teacher, Miss Smith (I still remember her name) asked who was responsible, I got up and explained in front of the class that it was imperative that I graduate that year, otherwise, there would be no future for me. She shook her head and tried to make me understand the futility of writing exam papers without adequate knowledge of the language. I replied that I really wanted to try to take the high school entrance exams in six months and she reluctantly consented. When the time came to take the exams, I had been in Canada for just ten months, but to everyone's delighted surprise, I managed to pass.

High School Years

The family moved to Toronto where I went to high school. In my final year, the school counselor asked what my career choice was. I replied that I wanted to become an antiquarian, a natural choice since I found history and geography the most interesting subjects in the curriculum. He suggested that I go into the sciences instead as my marks in math and science averaged over 95%. I could take courses in chemistry, possibly leading to a teaching career, or in chemical engineering which seemed to have a better and more secure future. His feeling was that as an antique dealer, I could not expect much of a livelihood. It was the height of the depression and I heeded his advice. One final note à propos of this. I had to write 15 exams (I insisted on taking the history exam, too, although it was not required for engineering), but there was a charge of one dollar for each. Although I had found a summer job on a farm which would pay a dollar a day, there was no way I could afford to give up two weeks salary. Hoping the principal would come up with a suggestion, I went to him and explained my predicament. He looked at my records, and made out a check for $15! It was one of the most thrilling moments in my life.

I have never forgotten the five summers of farm work that followed. Bring the cows in at 5 A.M., feed them, milk them, clean the stables, all before breakfast. And afterward, work in the fields all day, repeating the milking session in the evening. All I can say is that I became a very muscular young man. Upon entering the University of Toronto, I joined the wrestling team and spent five evenings a week training. It was a great life while it lasted. The depression hit hard and work became almost impossible to find. My mother who had been keeping boarders now had to give up her means of livelihood because the boarders were out of jobs and could no longer afford to pay six dollars a week for a room and board.

University Years

Our next move was to Montreal where my brother had started a rug cleaning business. I was accepted at McGill University and continued my studies there. Summers were spent canvassing business for Kerop. It involved ringing doorbells in the wealthy sections of the city and asking if there were any rugs needs cleaning. People were very nice and amazingly I brought in fifty dollars worth of business a week, a tidy sum when compared with the six dollars weekly salary earned by our very capable secretary. For once, I had a few dollars in my pocket (my commission), and I knew exactly where the money could be spent.

I was able to contact Mr. Hagop Kelekian, an antique dealer in Istanbul and began buying some Armenian coins from him. By really economizing, I saved enough to pay him fifty cents to three dollars each for the coins. Sensing my interest, he sent me a copy of Sibilian's book about the coinage of Cilician Armenia. Perusal of this volume created an enthusiasm in me which has lasted to this day.

In 1936, I graduated from McGill with a degree in Chemical Engineering. Out of 34 freshman who started the program, 17 made it to graduation, and 3 got positions in chemical companies. The depression was still upon us, even though war clouds were beginning to gather. A British firm, W. J. Bush & Co., dealing in essential oils and flavors, hired me because I was instrumental in acquainting them with certain developments in the manufacture of vanillin in

Canada, information which enabled them to acquire a world exclusivity in this important commodity. The job paid twenty dollars a week; in addition, Bush built a lab for me to carry out experimental work in flavors and fragrances.

Postgraduate Years

My dual life as a chemist and numismatist really began at this point. I began to look in earnest for more sources for the purchase of Armenian coins. In a letter dated October 5, 1936, J. Schulman of Amsterdam sent me a page of their price list on Armenian coins. I bought quite a few pieces. My next letter inquired about the availability of Langlois' book. The response was negative. A letter from Spink & Son dated October 5, 1936 informed me that a drachm of Tigranes in fair condition was available at two pounds.

After two years at W. J. Bush & Co., I realized that I needed a much greater knowledge of Organic Chemistry if I was to make any progress in my field. Bush allowed me to attend graduate school on a part-time basis if that was acceptable to the university. Unfortunately, it was not. It was suggested that I discuss my situation with the head of the department. The professor was adamant, however, and declared that it was a long-standing policy at McGill that graduate students be enrolled full time. Crestfallen, I told the discouraging news to my friends in the graduate organic lab. All seven of them marched to the office of the dean of the graduate school, Dr. Maass, to voice their protest. Dr. Maass sent for me, and after a long conversation, decided that he would make an exception in my case. I shall be forever grateful. I continued to work for Bush, was engaged in war projects at graduate school, and eventually received a doctorate in Organic Chemistry (1941).

During my undergraduate and postgraduate years I made frequent trips to New York to visit my sisters and my aunt and uncle. In course of one such visit, shortly after Pearl Harbor, I met a lovely young lady, the former Vicki Hagopian, at an AGBU function. We married a year later, in December 1942. I found it interesting that she didn't mention until after our wedding that she had a Phi Beta Kappa key. Our marriage was blessed with three children, Robert, Betty and Joan.

Some of my research projects at W. J. Bush were of interest to chemical science and I decided to submit one of them for publication in the journal of the American Chemical Society. To my surprise, the paper was accepted, marking the beginning of Vicki's long involvement with the editing and typing of my many publications in chemistry and numismatics. The clarity of her thinking as reflected in the material she edited still amazes me.

Early Years in the U. S.

In 1945 we left Canada to reside in the United States. I was offered several jobs in the vicinity of New York, and eventually chose one with a small company which would allow me to do outside consulting in my field. It proved to be the right choice for me because it gave me time for my own scientific research and for my numismatic activities.

Since the latter is such an important part of my life, I have come to the conclusion that for this autobiography a review of my correspondence with other numismatists and coin dealers spanning half a century may serve the cause of Armenian numismatics. On going over my bulging files containing several thousand pieces of correspondence, I have also become aware of the role played by a dozen or so people in guiding the course of my studies.

Not long after the end of World War II, I received a copy of Basmadjian's book on Armenian coinage written in 1936. It became my Bible. Armed with the information I had learned from the book, I began corresponding with a number of dealers in Europe in the hope that they could provide me with certain types of coins. Most responded that they could offer Roman coins bearing the inscription ARMENIA or ARMENIACVS. I purchased whatever they had at $1 to $3 a coin.

1950s

I made the acquaintance of Dr. Jacob Hirsch, a renowned scholar and numismatist with galleries and residence on West 54th Street in Manhattan. He sold me some ARMENIACVS sestertii at $10 to $25 each. On one of my visits, he brought out a box full of Roman gold coins, several hundred pieces, all in FDC condition, saying that

he had two offers of $50,000 for the contents of the box, one from a lord in England and another from a count in Italy. It was a dazzling collection. I was most interested in three ARMENIACVS gold pieces, each marked $250, but on my salary of $300 a month, this was out of the question. Dr. Hirsch asked me how much I could offer. I suggested $250 for the three. I shall never forget how he picked them out, handed them to me, and told me that I could pay for them at my convenience! Then he advised me to buy an extremely fine tetradrachm of Tigranes which he felt was the best in existence. I bought it for $110. Some twenty years later, I gave it to my son-in-law, Torkom Demirjian, when he decided to go into the coin and antique business.

In 1950, I visited the museum of the American Numismatic Society in New York and requested to see any Armenian coins they might have. Mr. William Clark, the Curator of Medieval and Modern Coins showed me a tray containing a copper coin of Kiurike. I noted that the literature reported the existence of only one other Kiurike piece and that it might be worth studying. Mr. Clark suggested that I submit a short paper on the subject. On February 23, 1951, I sent the Society an article entitled "A Rare Armenian Coin." On March 17, Mr. Sawyer M. Mosser, the editor of *Museum Notes*, informed me that the article had been accepted for publication. Joyous news.

In a letter dated October 27, 1955, Mr. Louis C. West, the president of the American Numismatic Society, suggested that I apply for membership in the Society, which I promptly did, and a month later Mr. Mosser informed me that the Council of the ANS had unanimously elected me an Associate Member of the Society. Mr. West and Mr. Mosser had launched me on a serious numismatic career.

In 1952, I purchased a number of coins from Spink & Son in London and from other sources. The pieces from the Ryan sale, including many rarities of Roman coins relating to Armenia, were of particular interest. Looking over the prices paid then for the coins, one is amazed at the tremendous increase in their value thirty years later.

I began studying the coinage of Cilician Armenia with a view to preparing a treatise on the subject. It was going to be a most difficult project. The literature was outdated and limited in scope. I was fully aware of the fact that I would have to acquire a large number of coins for study and would have to become familiar with existing collections in the museums in Europe. But I set about the task with much enthusiasm.

Mr. Djanjigian, a student from Beirut, informed me that a coin dealer in Beirut, Mr. A. Poladian, had Armenian coins for sale. A letter to Mr. Poladian began a correspondence which lasted for over twenty years. During this period, he sent me literally thousands of Armenian coins as well as many Crusader hoards. A patriotic Armenian, he was one of the first to donate valuable pieces to the numismatic department of the Historical Museum in Armenia.

In 1953 when I went to Europe to establish a branch of the then highly successful American perfume company, Fabergé, I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Berj Garabetian, a noted numismatist who had been sent to France by Catholicos Karekin I of Cilicia to attend courses in classical studies. While in Paris, he classified the coins of the Bibliothèque Nationale, describing each coin in detail on a large format sheet.

On returning from Europe, I began extensive correspondence with various institutions in the hope that I would visit them at a later date to make an inventory of their holdings. A question arose. How was I to make a reliable record of their coins? The choices were to make casts, a time-consuming effort, not very practicable when large numbers are involved, or to make paper impressions which suffered from the disadvantage of a lack of clarity. A method had to be found whereby thousands of coins could be recorded in a relatively short time.

Gradually the idea grew that if instead of making paper impressions (rubbed over lightly with pencil to bring out details), one could use metal foil. After some experimentation, I found that pressing a coin with aluminum foil gave an exact image of the coin which could be preserved indefinitely in the absence of external pressure. A practical application of this system involved the use of a corporation seal. The upper jaw of the seal was permanently fitted with a hard

rubber sheet. A rectangle of aluminum foil was folded to hold the coin placed on a second rubber sheet and pressed in the jaw of the seal which now had a permanent rubber facing and a movable lower base. From 60 to 100 impressions could be made per hour in this manner. Every detail of the coin was clear, and the folded sheet gave the die axis relation of the obverse and reverse. The aluminum foil was too shiny and did not photograph well, but it could be used for purposes of study better than the coin itself. If photographs were required, casts could be made from them and then photographed. Once this discovery was made, I sent corporation seals to Lebanon, Turkey, the Soviet Union, and other countries, and eventually obtained impressions of their collections of Armenian coins. Incidentally, this procedure is now used by numismatists throughout the world to acquire material for research.

On July 16, 1958, I left for Europe to record the coins in various museums. On the strength of letters written by Dr. George C. Miles, chief curator of the American Numismatic Society, to Mr. Georges Le Rider and Mr. Jean Babelon of Bibliothèque Nationale, to Professor E. Holzmair of Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna, and to Dr. John Walker of the British Museum, I was admitted to all these institutions.

The Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna was perhaps the richest repository of Armenian coins. Here I was introduced by a good friend, Mr. Artin Aslanian of New York who had made substantial financial gifts to the Mekhitarists.

Thanks to the good offices of a leading Armenian businessman, Mr. V. Fringhian, I was able to see and record the private collection owned by Mrs. Baghdadlian in Paris. Her father had been a diplomat in the French foreign service before the turn of the century and had formed the collection. Ten years later, in 1968, she offered the collection to me for a nominal sum. I happily purchased it.

This was a most productive numismatic journey. I returned home with over 5,000 impressions of Armenian coins. Additional impressions were sent from the museum in Armenia, from the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad thanks to the friendly cooperation of Dr. Bykov and Dobrovolsky, and from the Djemaran in Beirut through the efforts of Mr. Djanjigian.

The next step preparatory to writing a book on Cilician coins was to bring together all the published material relating to Roupenian coins. The earliest printed book on Armenian coins was M. Brosset, printed in St. Petersbourg in 1839. A copy was nowhere to be found, but the National (Miasnikian) Library in Erevan—much to my surprise—sent me their only copy so that I could pursue my studies. The earliest report on a Roupenian coin (not including the bilingual coins) appeared in St. Petersbourg in 1745. Thanks to a search undertaken by Prof. A. A. Bykov, it was found and its contents transmitted to me. Sir Steven Runciman, the author of the three-volume treatise on *The Crusaders*, wrote me several letters to clarify some points I had raised on historical events relating to the coinage of certain kings.

From 1950 to 1960, literally thousands of coins were added to my collection, mostly from Lebanon. The acquisition of over fifty Gosdantin III/IV coins enabled me to find a method of distinguishing the coins of Gosdantin III from those of Gosdantin IV by specific gravity determinations. Two hoards of Hetoum-Zabel trams also became available. By chance, the two hoards proved complimentary, making it possible to arrange the coinage of these rulers in chronological order.

The question of the identity of the Armenian Bissancios Stauratos was finally resolved. They were shown to be trams of Cilician Armenia, having a prominent cross on the reverse.

Some uncertainty had been expressed regarding the authenticity of Armenian gold pieces. The paucity of specimens cast a doubt as to their genuineness. But the problem was solved by finding silver coins struck with the identical dies of the gold coins, proving that the gold pieces were indeed genuine and contemporary. They had probably been struck for presentation as gifts on special occasions.

As a result of my visit to the Vienna Mekhitarists, I became acquainted with His Grace Archbishop Mesrob Habozian, a most capable and gentle person with piercing eyes. In gratitude for his allowing me to make impressions of their entire collection of three thousand coins, I promised to write articles for his journal. I kept the promise. Later, he saw to it that my numismatic books were translated into Armenian and published by his press. It was what

Father Sibilian would have wanted. Incidentally, their coin collection is now in excess of 10,000 pieces.

A problem that still needs clarification, in spite of my correspondence with Prof. Philip Grierson, the noted British scholar, is the identity of the Bissancios Sarracenati d'Arménie.

Early in 1958, I received a letter from Professor Asbed Donabedian of Beirut informing me of his interest in studying coins. Our correspondence grew as time went on. He was in a position to obtain coins first hand and was instrumental in providing me with aluminum foil impressions of several collections. He authored several very interesting articles which were published in Armenian journals in Beirut.

Publication of the *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*

I had begun working on this book in the early 1950s and in 1958, a draft was finally completed and sent to Professor Sirarpie der Nersessian. She read it carefully and made a number of valuable suggestions and corrections. Another copy was given to Dr. George C. Miles of the American Numismatic Society. His comments were also most helpful.

In 1959, the corpus was submitted to the American Numismatic Society. Within a few months I received a letter from Mr. Sawyer Mosser informing me that it had been approved for publication. This most welcome news represented the fruition of my efforts for almost a decade, involving over 8,000 hours of dedicated work. My wife, who has always been my best critic, had worked with me throughout the whole period. We had the satisfaction of having achieved our purpose.

The volume was published by the American Numismatic Society in 1962 as their *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 147. It was a voluminous book, having 31 introductory pages, 494 pages of text (including the corpus) and 48 plates. It achieved wide acclaim and received favorable reviews in the numismatic world. After its publication, I received many letters from scholars and collectors and widened my acquaintance with other numismatists. Among Armenian numismatists, Dr. M. Abgarians, then of Iran, and Mr. B. Sabbagh of Syria, deserve special mention.

1960s

I was informed by the Societé Francaise de Numismatique that at a meeting on Nov. 9, 1963, I had been elected a "membre correspondant" of the Society. In the same month, on Nov. 20, 1963, the Royal Numismatic Society in England notified me that they had elected me a Fellow of the Society.

As a result of the publication of the *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, dealers were encouraged to sort out their Armenian coins and before long my collection increased by over 20,000 pieces. Eventually, I donated collections to various institutions. By supplying me with these coins, the dealers actually saved them from destruction. It is no secret that the Turks were constantly melting Armenian silver pieces and using the silver for jewelry. It is noteworthy that because of the attention Armenian coins were now enjoying, four of my correspondents, namely, Mr. Armenak Poladian, Mr. Miadsin Havandjian, Prof. Asbed Donabedian and Prof. A. A. Ebeyan, succeeded in two decades to raise the number of Armenian coins extant from ten thousand to fifty thousand. Most of the specimens were found in Turkey and northern Syria.

My new goals were to try to find answers to still unsolved problems relating to Cilician Armenian coins, to collect material for a serious study of Artaxiad coins, and to take a good look at Crusader coins, a subject which had not been really studied for a hundred years.

Mr. Poladian offered to sell me over 20 Crusader hoards at a reasonable price. I accepted the offer. These hoards consisted of mixed coins, both silver and copper, some in poor condition. Up to this time, the hoards reported in the literature consisted of presentable billons, attractive to dealers and collectors. Although the parcels which Mr. Poladian sent me were not readily saleable because of their appearance, I felt that they had truer numismatic value than hoards of several hundred helmet billons. It is interesting that once I received these shipments, the supply was exhausted and no more has become available. I saved these hoards for future study.

Mr. Havandjian sent me copper coins struck by Roupenian princes and I was able to publish an article putting forth the available material and information. He also sent me a Crusader type of billon

struck by Levon I found among 845 billons of Bohemund IV of Antioch. This was a unique discovery worthy of publication.

Having recorded all the specimens of Artaxiad coins in the major museums in Europe, and being fortified by the purchase of a large number of coppers, I finally completed an extensive study which was published by the American Numismatic Society in 1968 under the title of "A Classification of the Coins of the Artaxiad Dynasty of Armenia." It was a major effort and set the stage for my ambitious plan of preparing a corpus on the coinage of this period.

1970s-1980s

Continued demand for information on Cilician coins prompted the publication of my treatise on *Medieval Armenian Coins*, first appearing in *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, and later in book form. In this work, I presented clear line drawings of the coins, and English transliteration in a circle around the drawing, and a translation in the outer circle. Excellent line drawings were obtained by taking photographs of the coins, going over the legends, figures or designs with black India ink, then bleaching out the photographs. This was done on a 3X enlargement, so that when the final bleached work was reduced to normal size, it became a very good representation of the coin itself. It made the study of Roupenian coins more interesting to the non-Armenian collector or scholar. The same technique was used in my book on *Roman Coins and Medallions Relating to Armenia*, written in Armenian and published by the Mekhitarists in Vienna in 1971. It listed over 600 Roman coins having legends or marks relating to Armenia.

To digress from numismatic activities a bit, it can be mentioned that I left Fabergé in 1954, but continued my consulting efforts in the flavor and fragrance industry. In 1951, D. Van Nostrand Company had published my book on *Perfumery Synthetics and Isolates*. In 1967, a second revised edition was published by Elsevier Publishing Company under the title of *Perfumery and Flavoring Synthetics* and was selected as one of the 100 best scientific/technical books among 4,000 published. The third revised edition was published by Allured Publications in 1986.

In the course of my research projects, I discovered a new method of preparing a compound called "leaf alcohol," a substance that gives a fresh green odor to fruits and vegetables. A major American firm adopted leaf alcohol for use in a food flavor, and before long, I was catapulted into the manufacture of small-scale expensive chemicals for the fragrance and flavor industries. A manufacturing company, Bedoukian Research, Inc., was incorporated in 1972 and now employs five doctoral chemists and ten graduate chemists. My son Robert who had studied chemical engineering at Tufts and received his doctorate in Organic Chemistry from Purdue University, joined the firm in 1975 and now heads its operations.

The challenges encountered in organic chemistry are almost as exciting as those in numismatics, but lack the romance of history.

My work on numismatics never ceased. By the mid-1970s, I had accumulated records of close to a thousand Artaxiad coins. Many of them were tetradrachms of Tigranes II, struck in Antioch, but a sufficient number of other types warranted an attempt to prepare a corpus. The Royal Numismatic Society was willing to consider publication of the book, and Dr. Michael Metcalf, the editor of the Society, undertook the arduous task of reading the manuscript and making the necessary changes.

Professor Otto Morkholm of the Copenhagen National Museum read the final draft. Both Miss Margaret Thompson and Mrs. Nancy Waggoner of the American Numismatic Society were most helpful during the preparation of this work. The *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia* appeared in 1978 as *Special Publication*, No. 10 of the Royal Numismatic Society. It contained 10 introductory pages, 80 pages of text and corpus and 8 plates. The Mekhitarists of Vienna obtained 500 copies of the corpus and plates which they incorporated with the Armenian text in 1983. As frequently happens, new material turned up shortly after publication, and was summarized in the 1983 edition of *Revue des Études Arméniennes* and other journals.

In 1972, I received a letter from Y. T. Nercessian of Los Angeles announcing the formation of the Armenian Numismatic Society. As a result of his untiring efforts, the club has grown and attracted the attention of numismatists world wide. The Society also issues the

Armenian Numismatic Journal on a regular basis. The publication of the Sibilian memorial volume in 1980 (1978), edited by Mr. Nercessian and Dr. D. Kouymjian, was a milestone in the Society's activities. Recognizing the need for a comprehensive bibliographical reference volume dealing with Armenian numismatics, the Armenian Numismatic Society published Nercessian's *Armenian Numismatic Bibliography and Literature* in 1984. This bilingual printing of 729 pages, including 1349 references, will long remain a handy references for all those interested in the coinage of Armenia and related subjects. Mr. Nercessian is an indefatigable worker and his correspondence with me is voluminous.

Many suggestions for a second revised edition of my out-of-print book on the *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* were being sent to me. Publishing a new edition by the American Numismatic Society or any other organization was now beyond anyone's means. But on investigation, I discovered to my surprise that photocopying was a very reasonable way of getting around the financial problem. I brought the text up to date by inserting new information obtained since 1962 and photocopied the entire book. The original plates which had been photographed from aluminum foil impressions were not very satisfactory and I decided to replace them with photographs of plaster casts. A fine edition, with hard cover and gold lettering, was thus published in 1979 at a fraction of the cost of the original volume.

The Armenian Numismatic Society felt that my articles, both English and Armenian, scattered in many journals which were not readily available, should be collected in a single volume. Again thanks to the low cost of photocopying, my 47 numismatic articles appearing from 1952 to 1980 were combined in one book under the title of *Selected Numismatic Studies.* It was *Special Publication*, No. 1 of the Armenian Numismatic Society, dated 1981.

Numismatists had long recognized that certain coins struck in the second and third century before Christ belonged to Armenian kings, but because the number of coins known to exist was very small, the specimens could not be incorporated into the fabric of an Armenian study. Babelon devoted several pages in his classic *Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène* to this question and attributed

the coins of Sames, Arsames, Xerxes and Abdissares to Armenian kings. Earlier, in 1859, Langlois had mentioned that some of these coins belonged to Armenia. In 1963, Mr. Cyril Toumanoff published his scholarly work, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, and presented a chronology of the rulers of the Orontid dynasty in Armenia from 401 B.C. to 95 B.C.

This chronology perplexed me for years and prevented me from studying the coinage of the early rulers of Armenia. According to Toumanoff, five rulers bore the name Orontes, but other rulers were part of this dynasty, including Sames, Arsames, and Xerxes. What couldn't be explained was the fact that not a single coin struck in Armenia attributable to an Orontes was in existence. It finally occurred to me that perhaps the Orontes Kings did not belong to the same ruling dynasty which had struck coins. Once this idea took hold, consulting historical sources as well as the recently published *Armenian Encyclopedia* confirmed my thinking that the Orontids ruling in Greater Armenia under the influence of the Achaemenid kings never struck coins. The kings ruling in southwestern Armenia under the Seleucids did issue coins, as did other small kingdoms in Asia Minor.

Soon the hidden facts came to light; the rest was simple. I had already compiled a record of this period from various museums and had personally collected many specimens. Enough pieces were now available to make a study, and an important article on the subject was published in the *Museum Notes* of the American Numismatic Society in 1981 entitled *Coinage of the Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene*. The following year, the Armenian Numismatic Society in its *Special Publication*, No. 4 published the article in booklet form along with its Armenian version.

This autobiography has dealt primarily with my numismatic endeavors over the past fifty years. Hopefully, it will encourage others to continue research on the many problems that remain to be solved, and will give them the intense satisfaction that I have derived from collecting and studying the coinage of Armenia.[1]

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[1] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. XX (1994), No. 1, pp. 13-22.

ՅԻՍՈՒՆ ՏԱՐԻ ՀԱՅ ԴՐԱՄԱԳԻՏՈՒԹԻՒՆ

(Ինքնակենսագրութիւն)

Պրն. Եղիա Ներսէսեան, Հայ Դրամագիտական Ընկերակցութեան հիմնադիրը, 1984 թուականին Նիւ Եորքի մէջ ինծի հանդիպեցաւ և տեղեկացուց Ընկերակցութեան որոշումը՝ հրատարակելու բացառիկ հատոր մը, ձօնուած՝ իմ դրամագիտական նուաճումներուս։ Բնականաբար, ես զգացուեցայ այս գնահատման համար, մինչև որ ինք ինծմէ խնդրեց չարահիւսել ինքնակենսագրական գլուխ մը։ Ան պնդեց սակայն, որ այս առաջարկը պարտք մըն էր որ ես պէտք էի կատարել։ Իր լաւագոյն համոզիչ բանալւէճը այն էր, որ իմ մասիս քանի մը կարճ կենսագրութիւններ լոյս տեսած էին իմ Selected Numismatic Studies գիրքին մէջ՝ տպուած 1981ին, և չատ քիչ նորութիւն կրնար գրուիլ, ուրեմն, ինքնակենսագրութիւն մը «անհրաժեշտութիւն» մըն էր։

Երբ այս առաջադրանքը սկսայ, ես չուտով համոզուեցայ թէ չէի կրնար գրել սովորական բան մը։ Բարեբախտաբար, եղբայրս Քերոբ իր գիրքին մէջ, Some of Us Survived, տուած է չատ հետաքրքրական տեղեկագրութիւն մը մեր ընտանիքի մասին Առաջին Համաշխարհային Պատերազմէն մինչև 1926 տարին, երբ մենք Գանատա գաղթեցինք, և ես կը խորհիմ թէ հոս պէտք չունիմ կրկնելու այն որ իր կողմէն ըսուած է։

Երբ կը մխրճուիմ իմ յուչերուս մէջ և կը ջանամ անոնք թուղթի յանձնել, որոշ դէպքեր որ ինծի համար խոր նչանակութիւն ունեցած են, չարունակ կը թափանցեն իմ մտածումներէս ներս։ Անոնք կրնան ըլլալ այն հանգամանքին մէկ մասը, որոնք կերտած են իմ կեանքիս ուղղութիւնը։

Իբրև երախայ մը, կը վերյիչեմ մօրս խօսքը, թէ երբ ես ծնած էի Սեբաստիոյ մէջ (ութը զաւակներուն կրտսերագոյնը), հայրս մէկդի դրած է տոպրակ մը ոսկի դրամ, որ երբ ես տարիքս առնեմ, երթամ Գերմանիա և ստանամ երկրագործական ուսում։ Իմ հայրս որ կը

հաւաքէր հայ ու թուրք գիւղացիներուն բերքը ու կը կարգադրէր անոնց տնտեսական կարիքները, կ'երեւի կը փափաքէր որ ես սորվիմ և գործադրեմ հողագործական արդիական միջոցներ հունձքի արտադրութեան համար։

Մօրս ընտանիքը պարունակած է եկեղեցական առաջնորդներ և բանաստեղծներ։ Ինք յաճախ ինծի ըսած է, թէ ինք որչափ տպաւորուած է *Uncle Tom's Cabin* գիրքին պատմութեամբ (հայերէն թարգմանութիւն), որ իր հայրը կը կարդար իր ընտանիքի անդամներուն։

Իր փոքր քոյրը Ամերիկա ղրկուած է հօրս կողմէ, որ մանկավարժութիւն ուսանի։ Ուրիշ մօրաքոյր մը Եւրոպայի մէջ սորված է և առաջին անձը եղած է, որ սկսած է մանկապարտէզ մը Օսմանեան կայսրութեան մէջ։ Երբ թուրք կառավարիչը իրեն հրամայած է որ ինք բանայ նման դպրոց մը ականաւոր թուրք ընտանիքներու զաւակներուն համար, ան կատարած է պահանջուածը և շուտով թուրք երախաները սկսած են հայերէն երգել և հայկական խաղերով զբաղիլ։

Առաջին Համաշխարհային Պատերազմով, նման գործակցական ջանքեր յանկարծ վերջ գտան, և քսաներորդ դարու առաջին ցեղասպանութիւնը սկսաւ։ Մէկ ու կէս միլիոնէ աւելի հայեր ջարդուեցան և անհամար անձեր քշուեցան դէպի Արաբիոյ անապատը։ Երբ երկու հարիւր հազար հայ կամաւորներ միացան ռուսական բանակին և յառաջացան Հայաստանի մէջ, զայն ամայացած գտան։ Անշուշտ, ինքնապաշտպանութեան հերոսամարտեր ալ հայոց պատմութեան մաս կազմեցին։ Ֆրանց Վերֆէլի Մուսա լերան քառասուն օրերը կրկնուեցան ռուսական սահմանի մօտ և մի քանի այլ վայրեր։ 1918 թուականին, Դաշնակիցները ժողովուրդին խոստացան իրենց պապենական հողերուն վերադարձը, և Վուտրօու Վիլսոն նոյն իսկ գծեց ազատ Հայաստանի մը սահմանները, բայց կ'երեւի թէ այդ տեղի պիտի չունենար։ Համայնավարութեան գալուստով, Դաշնակիցները կանգնեցան Թուրքիոյ ետին և հարիւրաւոր հազարներով հայեր անհայրենիք մնացին։

Մայրս և իր կենդանի մնացած չորս զաւակները առանց ապրուստի միջոցներու էին Հալէպ, Սուրիա։ Եւ քանի որ ան նախաձեռնակ անձ մըն էր, իրեն վստահուեցաւ գաղթականներու ճամբարին ղեկավարութիւնն ու անոնց կերակուրին մատակարարութիւնը։ Ինք կը յուսար մեզ փոխադրել Կիլիկիա, որ Ֆրանսական խնամակալութեան տակ էր, սակայն Ֆրանսացիները հոնկէ հեռանալէն յետոյ (Դաշնակիցներու այլ դաւաճանութիւն մը ևս), ամերիկացի մօրաքոյրս

մեզի օգնեց Կոստանդնուպոլիս փոխադրուելու համար։ Ապա ան դրամ ալ ղրկեց որ երկու քոյրերս Ամերիկա մեկնին, սակայն բաւարար դրամ չկար մեր միւսներուն համար։ Քեմալ Աթաթուրքի կառավարութեան տիրացումով և թրքական ազգայնականութեան վերածնունդով, մենք դարձեալ հարկադրուեցանք փոխադրուելու՝ այս անգամ Պուլկարիա։ Հոս Քրիստոնեայ երկրի մը մէջ, մթնոլորտը ամբողջովին տարբեր էր։ Պուլկարները կարեկից էին Հայերուն հանդէպ, քանի որ դարերով իրենք ալ նոյն ճակատագրին ենթարկուած և տառապած էին Թուրքերու լուծին տակ։ Մայրս յաջողեցաւ զիս արձանագրել տալ Մեսրոպեան Գոլէճը, սեփական տարրական դպրոց մը, հիմնադիր՝ Գէորգ Մեսրոպեան, ուսուցիչ և համբաւաւոր պատմաբան մը։ Ես տակաւին կը յիշեմ այս եռանդուն կարճահասակ մարդը, ազգասէր հայ մը, տոգորուած հայ մտաւորականի մը գաղափարապաշտութեամբ և իր ժամացոյցի շղթան՝ որուն կցուած էր հայատառ արծաթ դրամ մը։ (Հիմա գիտեմ որ այդ Հեթում-Զապէլի դրամն էր։) Մարդիկ կ՚ըսէին թէ ինք կրնար նստիլ ու իր յիշողութենէն գրել լրիւ հայոց պատմութիւնը։ Իր ուսուցչական կազմը կը բաղկանար հայ սպայէ մը, որ կռուած էր Կիլիկիան գրաւող Ֆրանսական բանակին մէջ։ Ուրիշ ուսուցիչ մը, բանաստեղծական ոգիով հայ մըն էր, որ իր ժամանակին կէսը կը գործածէր բանաստեղծութիւն արտասանելով և ուսանողներուն մէջ ներշնչելով մեր լեզուին ու հին մշակոյթին սէրը։ Մեր թուաբանութեան և գիտութեան ուսուցիչները, Կոստանդնուպոլսոյ Ռոբերտ Գոլէճի շրջանաւարտներ, անզօր կը փորձէին մեզ համոզել, թէ գիտութեան դարը կը մօտենար և ո՛չ բանաստեղծութիւնը և ո՛չ ալ պատմութիւնը մեզի պիտի արտօնէին շահիլ մեր օրապահիկը։

1925 էր, և ես տակաւին հմայուած էի Հեթում-Զապէլի դրամով։ Շուկայի խանութները գացի և հարցուցի թէ հին դրամներ ունի՞ն որ գնեմ։ Զարմանալիօրէն խանութներուն մեծամասնութիւնը ունէին հին բիւզանդական կամ հռոմէական դրամներ և յօժար էին ծախելու չնչին փողով։ Ես դարձեալ կը յիշեմ, տասներեք տարեկան պատանի հասակիս՝ այցելեցի Պուլկարական Ազգային Թանգարանը և զմայլանքով յափշտակուեցայ Տիգրան Մեծի արծաթ չորեքդրամեաններով։

Յաջորդ տարին, ես Մեսրոպեան Գոլէճին առաջին շրջանաւարտի դասարանին մէջն էի։ Դպրոցի աւարտումէն երկու շաբաթ ետք, մենք գաղթեցինք Գանատա, շնորհիւ իմ մօրաքրոջ և իր ամուսնոյն՝ Դոկտ. Մ. Միհրանի ջանքերուն։ Քանի մը ամիս յետոյ, ես ստացայ շնոր-

հաւորական նամակ մը Գէորգ Մեսրոպեանէն, իմ վկայականիս հետ միատեղ, զոր կը պահեմ մինչեւ այսօր։

Գանատայի մէջ կեանքը դիւրին չէր մեզ նման նորեկներուն համար։ Զիս տեղաւորեցին կին ձեռնաբոյժի (chiropractor) *մը հետ, իմ ընտանիքէս հեռու, որ անգլերէն լեզուի տիրապետեմ կարելի եղածին չափ շուտով։ Ան շատ հիանալի ու կրօնասէր կին մըն էր, որ կը պնդէր թէ Կիրակի օրերը երեք անգամ եկեղեցի երթամ։ Բուսակեր ըլլալով, ան ինծի համար կը պատրաստէր մսեղէն կերակուր միայն շաբաթը մէկ անգամ։ Ասիկա կատարեալ չարչարանք մըն էր տասնչորս տարեկան տղու մը համար։ Եղբօրս, որ ղրկուած էր ապրելու համար հողագործի մը հետ, յուսահատ նամակ մը գրեցի, թէ անպայման ինծի համար գործ մը գտնէ ագարակին մէջ, ապա թէ ոչ...։ Քերոբ կացութիւնս ներկայացուց իր գործատիրոջ՝ Պրն. Հինդլիին, ազնիւ Գանատացի հողագործ մը, որ յօժարեցաւ իմ ագարակ փոխադրուելուս, օգնելու մանր գործերուն եւ յաճախելու տեղական դպրոցը։*

Այսպէս, Յունուար 1927*ին ես յաճախեցի Օսպրինճ* (Ospringe)*։ Դպրոցը դասական մէկ-սենեակնոց չէնք էր։ Զիս տեղաւորեցին իմ տարիքէս փոքր տղոց հետ, անգլերէն լեզուն լաւ չըմբռնելուս պատճառով (չորս տարի աւելի ցած)։ Այլ խօսքով, ես նախակրթարանէն պիտի վկայուէի տասնեօթը տարեկանիս։ Գիտակից ըլլալով այս հանգամանքին ազդեցութեան իմ վրաս, օր մը գացի եւ սեւ տախտակին վրայ խոշոր տառերով գրեցի, ԺԱՄԱՆԱԿԸ ԴՐԱՄ Է։ Երբ մեր ուսուցչուհին Օր. Սմիթ (տակաւին կը յիշեմ իր անունը) հարցուց թէ ո՞վ է այս արարքին պատասխանատուն, ես ոտքի կանգնեցայ եւ դասարանին առջեւ բացատրեցի, թէ ինծի համար անհրաժեշտ է որ այս տարի վկայուիմ, այլապէս, ինծի համար ապագայ գոյութիւն պիտի չունենայ։ Ան իր գլուխը շարժեց եւ ջանաց ինծի հասկցնել, թէ ի զուր է գրաւոր քննութեան մասնակցիլ առանց լեզուի մը բաւարար ծանօթութեան։ Ես պատասխանեցի ըսելով, թէ վեց ամսուան մէջ իսկապէս կը փափաքիմ առնել երկրորդական վարժարանի մուտքի քննութիւնները եւ ան ակամայ համակերպեցաւ։ Երբ ժամանակը հասաւ, ես Գանատային մէջ եղած էի տասը ամիս։ Զարմանք բոլորին, յաջողութեամբ անցուցի քննութիւններս։*

Երկրորդական վարժարանի տարիներ

Ընտանիքս փոխադրուեցաւ Թորոնթօ, ուր ես յաճախեցի երկրորդական վարժարան։ Իմ վերջին տարուան ընթացքին, դպրոցի խորհրդատուն հարցուց թէ ի՞նչ է իմ ընտրութիւնս ապագայ գործունէութեան ասպարէզին համար։ Ես պատասխանեցի, թէ կ'ուզեմ ըլլալ հնագէտ մը, բնական ընտրութիւն մը, քանի որ ես նկատած էի պատմութիւնն ու աշխարհագրութիւնը ամենէն չատ հետքրքրական նիւթերը իմ ուսանողական կեանքիս։ Ինք թելադրեց որ փոխանակ հնագիտութեան՝ ես ընտրեմ գիտական ճիւղերը, քանի որ թուաբանութեան և գիտութեան մէջ իմ նիշերուն միջինը 95էն աւելի բարձր էր։ Ես կրնայի առնել դասընթացքներ տարրագիտութեան մէջ, թերևս առաջնորդուելով ուսուցչական ասպարէզին, կամ ալ քիմիական ճարտարագիտութեան, որ կ'երևէր ունենալ աւելի լաւ և ապահով ապագայ մը։ Իր բանիմաց գաղափարն էր, թէ իբրև հնագէտ վաճառական, ես չէի կրնար ակնկալել լաւ օրապահիկ մը չահիլ։ Տնտեսական տագնապի (depression) *ամենավատ տարին էր և ես ուչադրութիւն դարձուցի իր խրատին։ Վերջին կէտ մը այս դիտաւորութեան։ Ես պէտք էի առնել տասնհինգ քննութիւն (ես պնդեցի որ պատմութեան քննութիւնն ալ առնեմ, հակառակ որ չէր պահանջուեր ճարտարագիտութեան քննութիւններուն), բայց կար մէկ տոլար գին մը իւրաքանչիւր քննութեան համար։ Թէև ես ագարակի մը մէջ ամառնային գործ մը գտեր էի, որ կը վճարէր օրական մէկ տոլար, սակայն երբեք չէի կրնար հրաժարիլ իմ երկու չաբաթական օրապահիկէս։ Ցուսալով որ տնօրէնս կրնայ թելադրութիւն մը ընել, ես իրեն բացատրեցի իմ տհաճ կացութիւնս։ Ինք նայեցաւ իմ նիչերուս, և փոխգիր* (check) *մը գրեց տասնհինգ տոլարի համար։ Ա՛յս իմ կեանքիս ամենէն յուզիչ վայրկեաններէն մին էր։*

Ես երբեք չեմ կրնար մոռնալ հինգ ամառնային ագարակի աչխատանքներս, որոնք իրարու յաջորդեցին։ Առտու կանուխ ժամը 5*ին կովերը ներս բերել, կթել զանոնք, մաքրել գոմերը, բոլորն ալ նախաճաչէն առաջ։ Եւ յետոյ, աչխատիլ ամբողջ օր մը արօտավայրերուն մէջ, գիչերը կրկնելով կթելու աչխատանքը։ Միայն սա կրնամ ըսել, որ հասուննալով ես վերածուեցայ ուժեղ երիտասարդ մարդու մը։ Թորոնթօ քաղաքի համալսարանը մտնելէ ետք, ես միացայ ըմբչամարտութեան խումբին և իւրաքանչիւր չաբաթ հինգ գիչեր նուիրեցի մարմնամարզութեան։ Այս ալ լաւ կեանք մըն էր։ Տնտեսական տագնապը հասաւ չափազանց ուժգնութեամբ և անկարելի էր գործ գտնել։*

Մայրս որ կենսաօթեւաններ (boarder) կը պահէր, հիմա հարկադրըուած էր կորսնցնել իր օրապահիկը, քանի որ կենսաօթեւանները անգործ էին եւ չէին կրնար այլեւս վճարել շաբաթական վեց տոլար ուտեստի եւ սենեակի մը համար։

Համալսարանի տարիներ

Մեր յաջորդ տեղափոխադրութիւնը եղաւ դէպի Մոնթրէալ, ուր եղբայրս գործ մաքրելու գործ սկսեր էր։ Ես ընդունուեցայ ՄըկԳիլ (McGill) Համալսարանը եւ հոն շարունակեցի իմ ուսումս։ Ամառը զբաղեցայ Քերոբի գործին պատուէրներ հաւաքելով։ Այս գործը կը բովանդակէր քաղաքին հարուստ թաղամասին մէջ դուռներուն զանգակները զարնել, եւ հարցնել թէ ունէ՞ին որեւէ գործ որ մաքրութեան պէտք ունէր։ Մարդիկ շատ ազնիւ էին եւ զարմանալիօրէն իւրաքանչիւր շաբաթ յիսուն տոլարնոց գործ հաւաքեցի, վայելուչ գումար մը, երբ բաղդատուի շաբաթական վեց տոլար գումար վճարումին, վաստակուած՝ մեր շատ կարող քարտուղարին կողմէ։ Առաջին անգամ ըլլալով, ես գրպանիս մէջ քանի մը տոլար ունէի (իմ յանձնարարողչէքս), եւ շատ լաւ գիտէի թէ ո՞ւր կրնայի դրամս ծախսել։

Ես կրցայ կապ հաստատել Յակոբ Քէլէկեանին հետ, Իսթանպուլի մէջ հնագէտ մը եւ սկսայ հայկական դրամներ գնել իրմէ։ Ես խնայողութեամբ շատցուցի բաւարար դրամ իրեն վճարելու համար 50 սէնթէն 3 տոլար՝ դրամներու իւրաքանչիւրին համար։ Զգալով իմ հետաքրքրութիւնս, ինք ինծի ղրկեց Սիպիլեանի Կիլիկեան դրամներու գիրքէն օրինակ մը։ Այս հատորին խնամեալ ընթերցումը իմ մէջս ստեղծեց խանդավառութիւն մը, որ տեւեց մինչեւ այսօր։

1936 թուին ՄըկԳիլ Համալսարանէն վկայուեցայ ստանալով Պասկալոր Քիմիա-ճարտարապետութեան աստիճանը։ Այդ երեսունչորս երիտասարդներէն որոնք սկսան համալսարանի առաջին դասարանը, տասնեօթը յաջողեցան վկայուիլ, եւ երեքը գործ գտան քիմիաբանութեան ընկերութեանց մօտ։ Տնտեսական տագնապը տակաւին մեզի հետ էր, հակառակ որ պատերազմի ամպեր մթագնելու սկսած էին։ Բրիտանական ընկերութիւն մը, W. J. Bush & Co., զբաղելով կենսական իւղերով եւ բոյրերով, վարձեց զիս քանի ես պատճառ եղեր էի, որ իրենք ծանօթանան Գանատային մէջ վանիլին համեմին շինութեան հետ, գիւտութիւն մը որ արտօնեց զիրենք ստանալու այս կարեւոր ապրանքին աշխարհի միակ առանձնականութիւնը (exclusivity)։

Գործը վճարեց չաբաթական քսան տոլար, ինչպէս նաև Պուշ չինեց ինծի համար աշխատանոց մը, ուր բուրումնարկութեան և համեղութեան վերաբերեալ փորձեր կրնայի կատարել։

Թեկնածուական տարիներ

Իմ երկեակ կեանքը՝ իբրև քիմիագէտ ու դրամագէտ, իսկապէս այս կէտին սկսաւ։ Ես սկսայ նախանձախնդրութեամբ փնտռելու նոր աղբիւրներ հայկական դրամներու գնման համար։ Նամակով մը, թուագրըուած 5 *Հոկտեմբեր*, 1936, *Ամստերտամի Ժ. Շուլման հնագէտ վաճառականը ինծի ղրկեց իրենց վաճառքի դրամներու ցանկին հայկական էջը։ Ես գնեցի քանի մը կտոր դրամ։ Իմ յաջորդ հարցաքննութիւնս եղաւ Վ. Լանգլուայի գիրքին փնտռտուքը։ Պատասխանը ժխտական էր։ Սփինք և Որդի հաստատութեան* 5 *Հոկտեմբեր*, 1936*ի նամակը կը տեղեկացնէր, թէ վաճառքի համար առկայ է Տիգրանի դրախման, լաւ վիճակի մէջ, երկու փաունտի։*

Երկու տարի W. J. Bush & Co.*ի մօտ աշխատելէ ետք, ես ըմբռնեցի թէ՝ եթէ պէտք է յառաջդիմեմ իմ ասպարէզին մէջ, պէտք ունիմ օրգանական քիմիաբանութեան յաւելեալ գիտութեան։ Պուշ Ընկերութիւնը արտօնեց ինծի մասնակի ժամերով յաճախել թեկնածու ուսանողներու դպրոց, եթէ այս ընդունելի էր համալսարանին։ Դժբախտաբար, ընդունելի չէր։ Ոմանք թելադրեցին, թէ ես քննարկեմ իմ կացութիւնս բաժանմունքի ղեկավարին հետ։ Փրոֆեսորը մնաց անդրդուելի. սակայն յայտարարեց, թէ ՄըկԳիլ Համալսարանի վաղեմի քաղաքականութիւնն է որ թեկնածու ուսանողները լրիւ ժամերով արձանագրուին։ Ընկճուած, ես իմացուցի յուսահատեցնող լուրը օրգանական աշխատանոցի մէջի իմ ընկերներուս։ Բոլոր եօթն ալ միատեղ գացին ուսուցչապետին, Դոկտ. Մասի* (Dr. Maass) *գրասենեակը, արտայայտելու իրենց բողոքը։ Դոկտ. Մաս գիս կանչեց և երկար խօսակցութենէ մը ետք, որոշեց իմ պարագայիս, բացառութիւն մը ընել։ Ես ասոր համար յաւիտեան երախտապարտ պիտի մնամ։ Ես շարունակեցի աշխատիլ Պուշ Ընկերութեան համար, այս դպրոցին մէջ զբաղած էի պատերազմական գործերով, և վերջապէս ստացայ իմ դոկտորաս Օրգանական Քիմիագիտութեան մէջ* (1941)*։*

Համալսարանի իմ աւարտական ուսանողի և թեկնածուական տարիներու ընթացքին, ես Նիւ Եորք կ'երթայի այցելելու քոյրերուս, մօրաքրոջս և քեռայրիս։ Այսպիսի այցելութեան մը առթիւ, Փըրլ Հարպըրէն ետք, ես ծանօթացայ երիտասարդ սիրուն օրիորդի մը, նէ՝

Վիքի (Վիքթորիա) Յակոբեանին, ՀԲԸՄ ձեռնարկներէն մէկուն մէջ։ Տարի մը ետք, 1942ին մենք ամուսնացանք։ Հետաքրքրական է, որ ան ինծի չյայտնեց մինչև մեր ամուսնութենէն որոշ ժամանակ մը յետոյ, որ համալսարանին մէջ իրեն շնորհուած է «Phi Beta Kappa» պատւոյ բանալին, որու կ'արժանանային միայն բացառիկ ուսանողներ։

Պուշ Ընկերութեան մօտ կատարուող կարգ մը իմ հետազօտական աշխատանքները չահագրաւ էին քիմիաբանական գիտութեան և ես որոշեցի ասոնցմէ մէկը ուղարկել Amercian Chemical Societyի հանդէսին որ հրատարակեն։ Եւ յօդուածս ընդունուեցաւ։ Նաև այս առիթով սկսաւ Վիքիին երկարամեայ մասնակցութիւնը՝ սրբագրելով և մեքենագրելով իմ բազմաթիւ քիմիաբանական ու դրամագիտական հրատարակութիւններս։ Մինև այսօր գիս կը զարմացնէ իր մտածելակերպին պարզութիւնը, ցոլացուած՝ իր սրբագրութեանց մէջ։

Սկզբնական տարիներ ԱՄՆու մէջ

1945ին Գանատան ձգեցինք ապրելու համար Ամերիկայի Միացեալ Նահանգներուն մէջ։ Ինծի առաջարկեցին մի քանի գործ Նիւ Եորք քաղաքի շրջակայքը, և վերջ ի վերջոյ ես ընտրեցի փոքր ընկերութիւն մը, որ պիտի արտօնէր ինծի կատարելու իմ ասպարէզիս մէջ արտաքին խորհրդատուի աշխատանք։ Հետագային փաստուեցաւ, թէ լաւագոյն ընտրանքը ըրած եմ, քանի որ այս գործը ժամանակ հայթայթեց ինծի կատարելու իմ քիմիաբանական հետազօտութիւններս և դրամագիտական զբաղումներս։

Քանի որ դրամագիտութիւնը իմ կեանքիս այսչափ կարևոր մէկ մասը եղած է, ես այն եզրակացութեան յանգած եմ, թէ այս ինքնակենսագրութեան համար՝ քաղուածք մը բոլոր դրամագէտներու և հնագէտ վաճառականներու թղթակցութիւններուն, որոնք կէս դար կը պարփակեն, բաւարար է և կրնայ ծառայել հայ դրամագիտութեան բնաբանին։ Քննելով իմ ծաւալուն թղթածրարներս, որոնք կը պարունակեն հազարաւոր թղթակցութիւններ, ես ալ իրազեկ հանդիսացած եմ այն դերին համար, զոր տասնեակ մը անձեր ունեցած են իմ ուսումնասիրութիւններու ուղին ղեկավարելու մէջ։

Երկրորդ Համաշխարհային Պատերազմի աւարտէն ոչ շատ ուշ, ես ստացայ Կ. Բասմաջեանի հայկական դրամներու գիրքէն օրինակ մը, տպուած՝ 1936ին։ Սա իմ Ս. Գիրքը եղաւ։ Զինուած այս գիրքէն քաղուած ծանօթութեամբ, ես սկսայ թղթակցիլ Եւրոպայի վաճառականներուն հետ, յուսալով որ իրենք կրնան ինծի հայթայթել որոշ տեսա-

կի հայկական դրամներ։ Մեծամասնութիւնը պատասխանեց թէ կրնան առաջարկել հռոմէական դրամներ, արձանագրուած՝ ARMENIA կամ ARMENIACVS։ Ես գնեցի ինչ որ ունէին, իւրաքանչիւր դրամի հատը $1էն մինչև $3։

1950ական թուականները

Ես ծանօթացայ Դոկտ. Ժակոբ Հիրսչի, հռչակաւոր բանասէր ու դրամագէտ մը՝ ցուցասրահն ու բնակավայրը Մէնհէթթընի մէջ, West 54րդ Փողոցի վրայ, Նիւ Եորք։ Ինք ինծի ծախեց քանի մը հռոմէական սեստերցիուսներ ARMENIACVS արձանագրութեամբ, հատը $10էն մինչև $25։ Իմ այցելութիւններէս մէկուն առթիւ, ինք արկղէն դուրս հանեց հռոմէական ոսկի դրամներով լեցուն տուփ մը, քանի մը հարիւր կտոր, բոլորն ալ անգերազանցօրէն գեղեցիկ վիճակի մէջ, ըսելով թէ ինք տուփին բոլոր պարունակութեան համար ստացած է $50,000ի երկու առաջարկ, մին Անգլիա ապրող լորտէ մըն էր, միւսը՝ Իտալիա ապրող քոնթէ մը։ Շլացուցիչ ժողովածոյ մըն էր։ Ես հետաքրքրուած էի երեք ARMENIACVS արձանագրուած ոսկեդրամներով, իւրաքանչիւրը՝ գնահատուած $250ի, բայց իմ ամսական $300 աշխատավարձին վրայ, այս հարցէ դուրս էր։ Դոկտ. Հիրսչ հարցուց թէ ի՞նչ կրնայի առաջարկել։ Ես թելադրեցի $250 երեքին համար։ Ես երբեք պիտի չմոռնամ թէ ինչպէս զանոնք դուրս հանեց, ինծի երկնցուց, և ըսաւ թէ կրնամ վճարել երբ որ ինծի համար պատշաճ է։ Յետոյ զիս խրատեց գնել Տիգրանի յոյժ գեղեցիկ չորեքդրամեան մը, որ ըստ իր գիտակցութեան բոլորին լաւագոյնն էր։ Ես գնեցի $110ի։ Շուրջ քսան տարի ետք, փեսայիս՝ Թորգոմ Տէմիրճեանին տուի երբ որոշեց հնագէտ վաճառական ըլլալ։

1950 թուականին մէջ, ես այցելեցի Նիւ Եորք քաղաքի American Numismatic Societyի (ANS) Թանգարանը և խնդրեցի տեսնել ո՛րևէ հայկական դրամ որ կրնային ունենալ։ Պրն. Վիլիըմ Կլարք (William Clarck), վարիչը միջնադարեան ու արդիական դրամներու բաժնին, ինծի ցոյց տուաւ Կորիկէի պղնձեայ դրամը պարունակող ափսէ մը։ Ես նշեցի թէ դրամագիտական գրականութիւնը կը տեղեկացնէ Կորիկէի միայն այլ մէկ պղնձեայ դրամին գոյութիւնը և այս արժանի պէտք է ըլլայ ուսումնասիրութեան։ Պրն. Կլարք թելադրեց, թէ ես ներկայացնեմ կարճ յօդուած մը այս նիւթին վրայ։ 23 Փետրուար, 1951ին, ANSին ուղարկեցի յօդուած մը «A Rare Armenian Coin» վերնագիրով [Հազուագիւտ հայկական դրամ մը]։

17 Մարտին, Պրն. Սօյըր Մ. Մոսըր (Sawyer M. Mosser) *Museum Notes*ի խմբագիրը, տեղեկացուց թէ յօդուածս ընդունուած է հրատարակութեան համար:

Պրն. Լուիս Կ. Վէսթ (Louis C. West), ANSի նախագահը, իր 27 Հոկտեմբեր, 1955 թուակիր նամակով թելադրեց թէ ես անդամակցութեան համար իր կազմակերպութեան դիմումնագիր մը ներկայացնեմ, զոր ես փութով ըրի: Ամիս մը ետք Պրն. Մոսըր տեղեկացուց, թէ ANSի Խորհուրդը միաձայնութեամբ ընտրած է զիս կազմակերպութեան Ընկերակից Անդամ (Associate Member): Պրն. Վէսթ և Պրն. Մոսըր զիս դրամագիտութեան լուրջ ասպարէզին մէջ մտցուցին:

1952ին ես գնեցի որոշ քանի մը հատ դրամներ Լոնդոնի Սփինք և Սրդի հաստատութենէն և այլ աղբիւրներէն: Շատ ուշագրաւ էին Րեանի (Ryan) վաճառքէն ձեռք բերուած կտորները, որոնք նաև կը պարունակէին Հայաստանի վերաբերեալ հռոմէական հազուագիւտ դրամներ: Քննելով այն ատեն վճարուած գիները, երեսուն տարի ետք անձ մը միայն կրնայ ապշիլ դրամներու գիներուն կրած յաւելումին վրայ:

Ես սկսայ ուսումնասիրել Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի դրամները, նպատակ ունենալով այս նիւթի վրայ պատրաստելու բանասիրութիւն մը: Սա պիտի ըլլար շատ դժուարին աշխատանք մը: Դրամագիտական գրականութիւնը հինցած էր և հորիզոնով՝ սահմանափակ: Ես լիովին գիտակից էի այն իրողութեան հետ, թէ ուսումնասիրելու համար պէտք էր ձեռք բերէի մեծաքանակ դրամներ և ծանօթանայի Եւրոպայի թանգարաններուն մէջ գոյութիւն ունեցող հաւաքածոներուն հետ: Սակայն և այնպէս ես այս աշխատանքին մէջ մխրճուեցայ շատ մեծ խանդավառութեամբ:

Պրն. Ճանճիկեան՝ Պէյրութահայ ուսանող մը, տեղեկացուց թէ Պէյրութահայ հնագէտ՝ Պրն. Ա. Փոլատեան հայկական դրամներ ունէր ծախու: Նամակ մը, ուղղուած Պրն. Փոլատեանին, սկսաւ թղթակցութիւն մը, որ տևեց քսան տարիէն աւելի: Այս ժամանակամիջոցին տաուացիօրէն ան ինծի ղրկեց հազարաւոր հայկական դրամեր ինչպէս նաև Խաչակիրներու բազմաթիւ դրամագիտեր: Փոլատեան ազգասէր հայ մըն էր, ինք առաջիններէն էր որ արժէքաւոր կտորներ նուիրեց Հայաստանի Պատմութեան Պետական Թանգարանի դրամագիտական բաժնին:

1953ին երբ Եւրոպա ուղեւորուեցայ հիմնելու համար մասնաճիւղը այդ ժամանակաշրջանին շատ յաջող ամերիկեան անուշահոտութեան ընկերութեան՝ Ֆապերժէին (Fabergé), ես հաճոյքը ունեցայ ծանօթանալու Պրն. Պերճ Կարապետեանին, նշանաւոր դրամագէտ մը, որ Ֆրանսա ղրկուած էր Մեծի Տանն Կիլիկիոյ երջանկայիշատակ Գարեգին Ա. Կաթողիկոսի կողմէ, հետեւելու որոշ նիւթերու դասական շրջանի ուսումին։ Երբ Փարիզ էր, ինք դասաւորեց Ազգային Մատենադարանին (Bibliotèque Nationale) հայկական դրամները, մանրամասն նկարագրելով իւրաքանչիւր դրամ մեծածաւալ թուղթի մը վրան։

Եւրոպայէն վերադարձիս, ես լայնատարած թղթակցութիւն սկսայ զանազան հաստատութիւններու հետ, յուսալով որ ապագային պիտի կրնամ այցելել և ցուցակագրութիւնը պատրաստել իրենց ունեցած հայկական դրամներուն։ Հարց մը ծագեցաւ։ Ի՞նչպէս վստահելի գրանցում պիտի պատրաստէի իրենց ունեցած դրամներուն։ Ընտրութիւններէն մին՝ պատրաստել գաճէ կաղապարներ, ժամավաճառութիւն մը, ոչ ալ շատ գործնական երբ շատ թիւեր կը պարունակեն. կամ չինել թուղթի չփումով դրոշմուածքներ, որ կը տառապէր յստակութեան պակասի աննպաստ հանգամանքէն։ Ձև մը պէտք էր գտնուէր, որով հազարաւոր դրամներ կարելի ըլլար գրանցել համեմատաբար կարճ ժամանակի մը մէջ։

Հետզհետէ յղացուեցաւ գաղափարը թէ փոխան թուղթի չփումով դրոշմուածքներ պատրաստելու (թուղթին վրայ թեթևակի սև մատիտով չփուած մանրամասնութիւնները երևան բերելու համար), անձ մը կրնայ գործածել մետաղէ թուղթ։ Մի քանի փորձերէ ետք, ես ի յայտ բերի թէ դրամի մը ալիւմինիումէ թուղթով ճնշումը կու տայ դրամին ճիշդ նմանահանութիւնը, որ կրնայ անսահման պահպանուիլ արտաքին ճնշումի բացակայութեան։ Այս սիստեմի գործնական կիրարկութիւնը պարփակեց ընկերութեան անդրոշմ կնիքին գործածութիւնը (corporation seal)։ Կնիքի վերի ծնօտին վրայ մշտականօրէն կը զետեղուի քաուչուկի հաստ թերթ մը։ Քառանկիւնաձև ծալլուած ալիւմինիումի թուղթը կ՚ընդունի դրամը, որ կը զետեղուի վարի երկրորդ քաուչուկէ թերթին վրայ և կը ճնշուի ծնօտներուն միջև, որ ունի մշտական քաուչուկէ երես և շարժուն վարի ծնօտ-խարիսխ։ Այս ձևով կարելի է 60էն մինչև 100 ալիւմինիումէ թուղթէ նմանահանութիւններ պատրաստել մէկ ժամուան մէջ։ Դրամին իւրաքանչիւր մանրամասնութիւնը շատ յստակ է, և ծալլուած թերթը կու տայ նաև

ակողմի և բեկողմի առանցքներուն ուղղութիւնը։ Ալիւմինիումէ թուղթը շատ փայլուն էր և լաւ չնկարուեցաւ, բայց կրնայ գործածուիլ ուսումնասիրութեան նպատակով աւելի լաւ քան թէ դրամը ինքնին։ Եթէ նկարներ պահանջուին, գաճէ կաղապարներ կրնան պատրաստուիլ ապա նկարահանուիլ։ Անգամ մը որ այս գիւտը կատարելագործուեցաւ, ես ընկերութեան կնիքներ ղրկեցի Լիբանան, Թուրքիա, Խորհրդային Միութիւն, ու ա՛յլ երկիրներ, և հետևաբար ստացայ իրենց հաւաքածոներուն հայկական դրամներուն նմանահանութիւնները։ Այս գործարկութիւնը կը կիրարկուի աշխարհի բոլոր դրամագէտներուն կողմէ հետազօտութեանց նիւթ ձեռք բերելու համար։

16 Յուլիս, 1958 թուականին, Եւրոպա ճամբորդեցի զանազան թանգարաններուն մէջի դրամները գրանցելու համար։ American Numismatic Societyի գլխաւոր վարիչ՝ Ճորճ Կ. Մայլսի (George C. Miles) գրած նամակներուն հիման վրայ, ուղղուած Bibliotèque Nationaleի Պրն. Ճորճէս Լը Րիտէրի (Georges Le Rider) և Պրն. Ժան Բաբելոնի (Jean Babelon), Վիեննայի Kunsthistorische Թանգարանի Փրոֆ. Է. Հոլզմայիրի (E. Holzmair), և Բրիտանական Թանգարանի (British Museum) Պրն. Ճոն Վոքըրի (John Walker), ես ընդունուեցայ բոլոր հաստատութիւններէն ներս։

Վիեննայի Մխիթարեան Թանգարանը թերևս հայկական դրամներու ամենէն հարուստ պահեստարանն էր։ Ես հոն ներկայացուեցայ լաւ բարեկամի մի կողմէ, Նիւ Եորքահայ Պրն. Յարութիւն Ասլանեան, որ ընծայած է նիւթական կարևոր նուիրատուութիւն մը Մխիթարեաններուն։

Շնորհիւ Պրն. Վ. Ֆրինղեան առաջնակարգ վաճառականի գրասենեակին, ես կարողացայ քննել ու գրանցել փարիզահայ Տիկին Պաղտատլեանի սեփական հաւաքածոն։ Իր հայրը, որ կազմած էր ժողովածոն, դիւանագէտ եղած էր Ֆրանսայի օտար երկիրներու ծառայութեան մէջ, նախորդ դարու վերջաւորութեան։ Տասը տարի ետք, 1968 թուականին, ան ամբողջ ժողովածոն ինծի ընծայեց աննշան գումարով մը։ Ես ուրախութեամբ գնեցի։

Ասիկա շատ բարեյաջող դրամագիտական ուխտագնացութիւն մըն էր։ Ես տուն վերադարձայ 5,000է աւելի հայկական դրամներու նմանահանութեամբ։ Յաւելեալ նմանահանութիւններ ինծի ղրկուեցան Հայաստանի Թանգարանէն, Լենինգրադի Հերմիթաժ Թանգարանէն՝ շնորհիւ բարեկամական գործակցութեան Դոկտ. Բիկովի (Bykov) և Դոբ-

րովոլսկիի (Dobrovolsky), և Պէյրութի Ճեմարանէն՝ Պրն. Ճանճիկեանի ջանքերով։

Կիլիկիոյ դրամներուն վրայ գիրք մը գրելու համար, յաջորդ նախապատրաստական քայլը, ռուբինեան դրամներու վերաբերեալ բոլոր հրատարակուած գրականութիւնը ի մի հաւաքելն էր։ Ամենահին գիրքը հայկական դրամներու մասին Մ. Բրոսէի (M. Brosset) գիրքն էր, տպուած՝ Ս. Բետերսբուրգ 1839 թուականին։ Կարելի չէր օրինակ մը գտնել ո՛րևէ մի տեղ, բայց Երևանի Ազգային (Մխասնիկեան) գրադարանը —գիս զարմացնելով— ինծի ղրկեց իրենց միակ օրինակը որ ես կարողանամ հետազօտել իմ ուսումնասիրութիւնս։ Ռուբինեան դրամներու մասին վաղագոյն տեղեկագիրը (նկատի չունենալով երկլեզուեան դրամները) լոյս տեսաւ Ս. Բետերսբուրգի մէջ 1745 թուականին։ Շնորհիւ Փրոֆ. Ա. Ա. Բիքովի կատարած հետախուզութեան, յայտնաբերուեցաւ և անոր պարունակութիւնը ինծի փոխանցուեցաւ։ Տիար Սթիվըն Ռունսիման (Sir Steven Runciman), հեղինակ եռահատոր գիրքին՝ *The Crusaders* [Խաչակիրները], ինծի մի քանի նամակ գրեց պարզաբանելու համար որոշ կէտեր, որ ես յարուցած էի պատմական դէպքերու մասին, կարգ մը հայ թագաւորներու դրամներուն վերաբերեալ։

1950էն մինչև 1960, տառացիօրէն հազարաւոր դրամներ աւելցուեցան իմ ժողովածոյիս, մեծամասնութիւնը գալով Լիբանանէն։ Կոստանդին Գ./Դ.ի յիսունէ աւելի դրամներուն ձեռք բերումը արտօնեց ինծի գտնելու միջոց մը, որ զանազանեմ Կոստանդին Գ.ի դրամները Կոստանդին Դ.ի դրամներէն՝ իրենց տեսակարար ծանրութեան ճշտումով։ Հեթում-Զապէլի դրամներու երկու դրամագիտեր ևս օգտագործըւեցան ուսումնասիրութեան համար։ Պատահմամբ փաստեցին ըլլալ իրարու օժանդակ, արտօնելով գիս դասաւորել այս գահակալներու դրամները ժամանակագրական կարգով։

Հայկական խաչանիշ բիզանդի (Armenian Bissancios Stauratos) ինքնութիւնը վերջնականօրէն հաստատուեցաւ։ Ցուցաբերուեցաւ թէ անոնք Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի դրամներ են, ունենալով աչքառու խաչ մը դրամներու ետին։

Որոշ անստուգութիւն արտայայտուած էր հայկական ոսկեդրամներու խկութեան վերաբերեալ։ Նմոյշներու սակաւութիւնը կասկած կ՛արծարծէր իրենց հարազատութեան մասին։ Բայց խնդիրը լուծուեցաւ յայտնաբերելով այն արծաթ դրամները, որ զարնուած են ոսկեդրամներու նոյն կնիքէն, փաստելով որ ոսկիէ կտորները հարազատ ու

ժամանակակից են։ Հաւանաբար ատոնք զարնուած են յատուկ առիթներուն ներկայացուելու համար որպէս նուէր։

Իբրև արդիւնք իմ այցելութեան Վիեննայի Մխիթարեաններուն, ես ծանօթացայ Գերշ. Մեսրոպ Արքեպիսկոպոս Հապոզեանին՝ շատ կարող և հատու աչքերով ազնիւ անձ մը։ Առ ի երախտագիտութիւն ինծի ցուցաբերուած թոյլտուութեան, որ իրենց երեք հազարէ աւելի դրամներուն նմանահանութիւնները պատրաստեմ, ես խոստացայ իր հանդէսին յօդուածներ գրել։ Ես իմ խոստումս պահեցի։ Յետոյ ինք հոգ տարաւ որ իմ դրամագիտական գիրքերս հայերէնի թարգմանուին ու տպուին իր մամուլով։ Հայր Կղեմէս Սիպիլեանն ալ այդ պիտի փափաքէր։ Ներկայիս իրենց դրամներու ժողովածոն տասը հազար կտորէն աւելի է։

Խնդիր մը որ տակաւին լուսաբանման պէտք ունի, հակառակ իմ թղթակցութեան հռչակաւոր Բրիտանիացի բանասէր՝ Փրոֆ. Ֆիլիբ Գրիրսընի (Philip Grierson) հետ, այդ է Bissancios Sarracenati d'Arméniеին ինքնութիւնը։

1958ին սկիզբը, ես նամակ մը ստացայ Պէյրութահայ Փրոֆ. Ասպետ Տօնապետեանէն, իմացնելով ինծի հայկական դրամները ուսումնասիրելու իր հետաքրքրութիւնը։ Ժամանակին հետ միասին մեր թղթակցութիւնն ալ ծաւալեցաւ։ Իր միջավայրին շնորհիւ ինք կրնար առաջնակարգ կերպով դրամներ ստանալ և իր գործակցութեամբ ինծի հայթայթուեցաւ որոշ հաւաքածոներու ալիւմինիումէ թուղթէ նմանահանութիւնները։ Ինք գրեց բազմաթիւ հետաքրքրական յօդուածներ, որոնք տպուեցան Պէյրութի հայկական հանդէսներուն մէջ։

Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի Դրամները (*Coinage of Cilician Armenia*) գիրքին հրատարակութիւնը

Ես սկած էի աշխատիլ այս գիրքին վրայ 1950ական թուականներուն սկիզբէն մինչև և 1958ին միջև։ Նախնական սևագրութիւն մը վերջացաւ ու ղրկուեցաւ Փրոֆ. Սիրարփի Տէր Ներսէսեանին։ Ան ուշադրութեամբ կարդաց և ըրաւ քանի մը արժէքաւոր թելադրութիւններ և սրբագրութիւններ։ Ա՛յլ օրինակ մը տրուեցաւ American Numismatic Societyի Դոկտ. Ճորճ Կ. Մայլսին։ Իր թելադրութիւններն ալ շատ օգտակար եղան։

1959ին մէջ, քօրփուսը յանձնուեցաւ American Numismatic Societyին։ Քանի մը ամիսէն Պրն. Սօյըր Մ. Մոսըրէն նամակ մը ստացայ. ինծի կը տեղեկացնէր թէ գիրքին հրատարակութիւնը

վաւերացուած է։ Այս շատ հաճելի լուրը պսակեց իմ գրեթէ տասնեակ մը տարիներու ջանքերուն իրականացումը, որ գրաւեց շուրջ 8,000 ժամուայ նուիրեալ աշխատանք։ Կինս, որ եղած է իմ լաւագոյն քննադատս, ինծի հետ միասին աշխատեցաւ գիրքի պատրաստութեան ամբողջ շրջանին։ Մենք մեր նպատակին յաջողութեամբ իրականացման գոհացումը ունեցանք։

Մենագրութիւնս տպուեցաւ American Numismatic Societyի կողմէ 1962 թուականին, իբրեւ իրենց *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* մատենաշարին թիւ 147րդ հատորը։ Վիթխարի աշխատանք մըն էր, ունէր 31 ներածական էջեր, 494 էջ բնագիր (ներառեալ քօրփուսը) և 48 էջ տախտակ։ Գիրքը շահեցաւ բազմաթիւ գովասանքներ և ստացաւ նպաստաւոր գրախօսականներ դրամագիտական աշխարհին մէջ։ Գիրքին հրատարակութենէն ետք, ես ստացայ բազմաթիւ նամակներ բանասէրներէ ու հաւաքորդներէ, և ընդարձակեց իմ ծանօթներու շրջանակս ա՛յլ դրամագէտներու հետ։ Հայ դրամագէտներու մէջ յատուկ յիշատակութեան արժանի են Դոկտ. Մեսրոպ Աբգարեանց, այն ատեն Իրանէն, և Պրն. Պ. Սապպաղեան Սուրիայէն։

1960ական թուականները

Societé Francaise de Numismatiqueը ինծի տեղեկացուց, թէ իրենց 9 Նոյեմբեր, 1963 թուականի ժողովին, զիս ընտրած են կազմակերպութեան «թղթակից անդամ» (membre correspondant)։ Նոյն ամսուան մէջ, 20 Նոյեմբեր, 1963ին, Անգլիոյ Royal Numismatic Societyէն իմացուցին թէ զիս ընտրած են «Ընկեր» մը իրենց կազմակերպութեան (Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society)։

Իբրեւ արդիւնք Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի դրամները գիրքին հրատարակութեան, վաճառականներ քաջալերուեցան զատելու իրենց հայկական դրամները և շատ չանցած իմ ժողովածուս բարձրացաւ 20,000էն աւելի կտորներու։ Վերջ ի վերջոյ, ես ժողովածոներ նուիրեցի զանազան հաստատութիւններու։ Իրականութեան մէջ, այս դրամները ինծի հայթայթելով, վաճառականները զանոնք կործանումէ կը փրկէին։ Գաղտնիք չէր թէ Թուրքերը տեւականօրէն հայկական դրամները կը հալեցնէին և արծաթը կը գործածէին գոհարեղէն շինելու համար։ Ուշագրաւ է, որ քանի հայկական դրամները ուշադրութիւն կը վայելէին, իմ թղկակիցներէն չորսը, այսինքն՝ Պրն. Արմենակ Փոլատեան, Պրն. Միծին Հաւանճեան, Փրոֆ. Ասպետ Տօնապետեան և

Փրոֆ. Անուշաւան Ա. Ճպճեան, երկու տասնամեակի մէջ յաջողեցան բոլոր հայկական դրամներուն թիւը բարձրացնելու տասը հազարէն յիսուն հազարի։ Նմոյշներուն մեծամասնութիւնը գտնուած էր Թուրքիա և հիւսիսային Սուրիա։

Իմ նոր նպատակակէտներէն էին Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի դրամներուն վերաբերեալ անլուծուած խնդիրներու պատասխանները գտնել, նիւթ հաւաքել Արտաշէսեան Թագաւորութեան դրամները լրջօրէն ուսումնասիրելու համար և լաւ մը քննել Խաչակիրներու դրամները, նիւթ մը որ հարիւր տարուան մէջ իրապէս չէր ուսումնասիրուած։

Պրն. Փոլատեանը ծախելու համար՝ ինծի առաջարկեց Խաչակիրներու քսան դրամագիւտեր մատչելի գինով մը։ Ես ընդունեցի իր առաջարկը։ Այս դրամագիւտերը կը բաղկանային խառն դրամներէ, երկու տեսակ՝ արծաթ ու պղինձ, ոմանք վատ վիճակի մէջ։ Ցարդ, գրականութեան մէջ տեղեկագրուած դրամագիւտերը բաղկացած էին ներկայանալի պիլոններէ, հաճելի՝ վաճառականներուն ու հաւաքորդներուն։ Թէև ծրարները որ Պրն. Փոլատեան ինծի ղրկեց՝ իրենց տեսքին պատճառաւ կարելի չէր զիրենք անյապաղ ծախել, սակայն ես գիտակից էի թէ ատոնք ունին աւելի դրամագիտական արժէքներ քան թէ քանի մը հարիւր սաղաւարտակիր պիլոններ։ Հետաքրքրականը այն է, որ երբ ես այս դրամագիւտերու ծրարները ստացայ, պաշարը սպառեցաւ և այլևս անկարելի է նորեր հայթայթել։ Այդ դրամագիւտերը ես փրկեցի ապագային համար։

Պրն. Հաւանճեան ինծի ղրկեց ռուբինեան իշխաններու պղնձեայ դրամներ և ես կրցայ հրատարակել յօդուած մը՝ ընծայելով ծանօթ բոլոր դրամներն ու նոր տեղեկութիւնը։ Ինք նաև ինծի ղրկեց Լևոն Ա. Թագաւորին Խաչակիրներու տիպով պիլոնը, գտնուած՝ Անտիոքի Պոհեմունդ Դ.ի 845 դրամներուն միջև։ Ա՛յս, հրատարակութեան արժանի բացառիկ յայտնաբերութիւն մըն էր։

Գրանցած ըլլալով Արտաշէսեան Թագաւորութեան դրամները, գտնըւած՝ Եւրոպայի գլխաւոր թանգարաններուն մէջ, և զինուած մեծաքանակ պղնձեայ դրամներու գնումով, ես վերջնականօրէն լրացուցի ընդարձակ ուսումնասիրութիւն մը, որ հրատարակուեցաւ American Numismatic Society*ի կողմէ* 1968 *թուականին՝* «A Classification of the Coins of the Artaxiad Dynasty of Armenia» *վերնագիրով [Դասաւորում մը Հայաստանի Արտաշէսեան հարստութեան դրամներուն] (հայերէն հրատարակութեան վերնագիրը՝ Արտաշէսեան*

Հարստութեան դրամները, Վիեննա, 1969)։ Մեծ ձեռնարկ մըն էր այս և բեմ պատրաստեց իմ աւելի մեծ ձգտում ունեցող ծրագրին՝ պատրաստելու համար քօրփուս մը այս շրջանի դրամներուն վրայ։

1970-1980ական թուականները

Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի դրամներուն մասին տևականօրէն տեղեկութեան պահանջը հարկադրեց զիս հրատարակել իմ բանասիրութիւնը՝ *Medieval Armenian Coins* (*Միջնադարեան հայկական դրամներ*), նախապէս լոյս տեսած *Revue de Études Arméniennes* հանդէսին մէջ, ապա իբրև գիրք մը։ Այս աշխատանքին մէջ ես դրամներու մաքուր գծագրութիւնները ընծայեցի, և անգլերէն տառափոխութիւնները շրջանակներուն մէջ՝ դրամներու գծագրութեանց շուրջ, և թարգմանութիւնները դուրսի շրջանակներուն մէջ։ Հիանալի գծագրութիւններ պատրաստուեցան՝ նախ դրամները լուսանկարելով, խորագրութիւնները գրիչով սևցնելով, նկարներն ու պատկերատիպերը սև մելանով սևցնելով (India ink), յետոյ լուսանկարները ճերմկցնելով։ Այս կատարուեցաւ 3X մեծցուած լուսանկարի վրայ, այնպէս որ երբ ճերմկցուած աշխատանքը փոքրացուեցաւ իր սովորական չափին՝ դրամին շատ լաւ նմանութիւնը ստեղծուեցաւ։ Այս գործը ռուբինեան դրամներուն ուսումնասիրութիւնը աւելի հետաքրքրական ըրաւ օտարներուն կամ բանասէրներուն համար։ Նոյն նկարազարդումի ձևը կիրարկուեցաւ իմ մէկ ա՛յլ մենագրութեան մէջ՝ *Հայաստանի վերաբերեալ հռոմէական դրամներ և մեդալիոններ,* գրուած՝ հայերէնով և հրատարակուած Վիեննայի Մխիթարեաններուն կողմէ 1971ին։ Այս գիրքին մէջ դասաւորուեցաւ 600է աւելի հռոմէական դրամներ, որոնք ունին Հայաստանի վերաբերեալ խորագրութիւն կամ պատկերատիպ։

Դրամագիտական գործունէութենէ քիչ մը շեղելով, հոս տեղին է յիշել, որ ես հրաժարեցայ Ցապերժէ Ընկերութենէն 1954 թուականին, բայց շարունակեցի խորհրդատուի (consulting) աշխատանքներս համեղութեան և բուրումնարկութեան ճարտարարուեստին մէջ։ 1951 թուականին մէջ, D. Van Nostrand Companyն հրատարակած էր իմ գիրքը՝ *Perfumery Synthetics and Isolates* վերնագիրով։ 1967-ին, երկրորդ բարեփոխուած հրատարակութիւն մը տպուած էր Elsevier Publishing Companyի կողմէ *Perfumery and Flavoring Synthetics* վերնագիրով, և ընտրուած էր 100 լաւագոյն գիտական/թեքնիկական գիրքերէն մին տպուած 4,000 գիրքերու միջև։ Այս

գիրքին երրորդ բարեփոխուած հրատարակութիւնը լոյս տեսած է 1986 թուականին, տպուած՝ Allured Publicationsի կողմէ։

Իմ հետազօտութեանց աշխատանքներուն ընթացքին, ես յայտնաբերեցի հիւթ պատրաստելու ձեւ մը, կոչուած՝ «տերեւի ալքոհլ» (leaf alcohol), հիւթ մը, որ պտուղներուն ու կանաչեղէններուն կու տայ թարմ կանանչ հոտ։ Ամերիկեան մեծ ընկերութիւն մը ընտրեց տերեւի ալքոհլը՝ կերակուրի համեղութեան գործածելու համար, եւ երկար չանցած, ես մխրճուած էի փոքրաքանակ սուղ քիմիական հիւթերու արտադրութեան մէջ, համեղութեան եւ բուրումնարկութեան ճարտարարուեստներուն համար։ Bedoukian Research, Inc., արտադրութեան ընկերութիւն մը կազմակերպուեցաւ 1972 թուականին եւ հիմա գործատէր է հինգ դոկտորա ունեցող եւ տասը համալսարանաւարտ քիմիագէտներու։ Իմ որդիս, Ռոբերտ, որ ուսանած է քիմիա-ճարտարապետութիւն Թուֆթս համալսարանի մէջ եւ ստացած իր դոկտորան՝ Օրգանական Քիմիագիտութեան մէջ Փըրտու համալսարանէն, ընկերութեան միացաւ 1975 թուականին եւ հիմա ղեկավարն է ընկերութեան գործունէութեան։

Օրգանական քիմիաբանութեան մէջ դիմագրաւուած մարտահրաւէրները գեթէ դրամագիտութեան նման չափազանց յուզիչ են, բայց կը կարօտին պատմութեան զգացականութեան (romance)։

Իմ դրամագիտական աշխատանքս երբեք չդադրեցաւ։ 1970ական թուականներուն միջեւ, ես գրանցած էի հազարի մօտ Արտաշէսեան հարստութեան դրամներ։ Ասոնցմէ շատերը Տիգրան Բ.ի չորեքդրամեաններ էին, կոխուած՝ Անտիոք, բայց բաւարար թիւով ա՛յլ տեսակներ՝ երաշխաւորեցին քօրփուս մը պատրաստելու փորձը։ Royal Numismatic Societyն յօժար էր նկատի առնելու գիրքին հրատարակութիւնը եւ Դոկտ. Միքայէլ Մէթքալֆ (Michael Metcalf), կազմակերպութեան խմբագիրը, ստանձնեց բնագրին ընթերցանութեան դաժան գործն ու անհրաժեշտ սրբագրութիւնները։

Փրոֆ. Օթթօ Մորքոլմ (Otto Morkholm) կոփենհակի Ազգային Թանգարանէն, կարդաց իմ վերջնական բնագիրս։ American Numismatic Societyի Օր. Մարգարեթ Թոմսըն եւ Տիկ. Նանսի Վագգոներ (Margaret Thomson, Nancy Waggoner), շատ օգտակար եղան աշխատանքին պատրաստութեան ընթացքին։ Արտաշէսեան հարստութեան դրամները գիրքը (*Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenina*) լոյս տեսաւ 1978 թուականին, Royal Numismatic Societyին Յատուկ Հրատարակութիւն մատենաշարէն իբրեւ թիւ 10։ Գիրքին ծաւալը

ընդգրկեց 10 ներածական էջեր, 80 էջ բնագիր ու քօրփուս և 8 տախտակ։ Վիեննայի Մխիթարեանները ստացան քօրփուսէն և տախտակներէն 500 օրինակ և միացուցին հայերէն բնագրին 1983 թուականին։ Ինչպէս յաճախ կը պատահի, նոր դրամներ յայտնաբերուեցան գիրքին հրատարակութենէն ետք, որոնք ամփոփ կերպով ներկայացուեցան *Revue de Études Arméniennes*ի և այլ հանդէսներու մէջ։

1972 թուականին ես նամակ մը ստացայ Պրն. Եղիա Թ. Ներսէսեանէն, որ կը յայտարարէր Հայ Դրամագիտական Ընկերակցութեան կազմուիլը։ Իբրև արդիւնք իր տքնաջան աշխատանքներուն, այս միութիւնը մեծցած է և աշխարհի չորս դին տարածուած դրամագէտներու ուշադրութիւնը կը գրաւէ։ Կազմակերպութիւնն ալ կը հրատարկէ Հայ Դրամագիտական Հանդէս եռամսեան կանոնաւորաբար։ 1980 (1978) թուականին Հ. Կ. Սիպիլեանին ձօնուած բացառիկ յուշամատեանը, խմբագրուած Պրն. Ներսէսեանի և Դոկտ. Տ. Գույումճեանի կողմէ, յատկանշական կոթող մըն էր կազմակերպութեան աշխատանքներուն միջև։ Գիտակից ըլլալով հայ դրամագիտութեան ընդարձակ մատենագրական ծանօթագրութեանց հատորին կարիքին, Հայ Դրամագիտական Ընկերակցութիւնը հրատարակեց Ներսէսեանին Հայ դրամագիտական մատենագրութիւն և գրականութիւն գիրքը (*Armenian Numismatic Bibliography and Literature*) 1984 թուականին։ Այս 729 էջնոց մատենագրական տպագրութիւնը՝ պարունակելով 1349 վկայակոչման մէջբերումներ, երկար ատեն պիտի մնայ առձեռն դրամագիտական մատենագրութեան և գրականութեան աղբիւր մը բոլոր անոնց համար, որ կը հետաքրքրուին Հայաստանի դրամներով և յարակից նիւթերով։ Պրն. Ներսէսեան անխոնջ աշխատող մըն է և ինծի հետ ունի մեծածաւալ թղթակցութիւն մը։

Բազմաթիւ թելադրութիւններ ղրկուած էին ինծի իմ սպառած Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի դրամները գիրքին բարեփոխուած հրատարակութեան համար։ Նոր հրատարակութիւն մը American Numismatic Societyի կամ ո՛և է մէկուն կողմէ, տնտեսական պատճառներով հարցէ դուրս էր։ Հետապնդելով, ես իմացայ, թէ հին գիրքը լուսանըկարելով ապա օֆսէթով տպելը պատշաճ միջոց մըն էր յաղթահարելու տնտեսական ծախսալից խնդիրները։ Ես բարեփոխեցի և աւելցուցի նոր տեղեկութիւններ, ուր որ անհրաժեշտ էր և օֆսէթ եղանակով տպուեցաւ ամբողջ գիրքը։ Նախկին տախտակներուն պատկերները նկարահանուած էին ալիւմինիումէ թուղթերու նմանահանութիւններէն, գոհացուցիչ չէին և ես որոշեցի գիրենք փոխարինել գաճէ

կաղապարներու պատկերներով։ Գեղեցիկ երկրորդ հրատարակութիւն մը տպուեցաւ 1979 թուականին, հիանալի ու կոկիկ կազմով և ոսկի տառերով տպուած վերնագիրով, առաջին հրատարակութեան ծախքին մէկ փոքր կոտորակով։

Հայ Դրամագիտական Ընկերակցութիւնը որոշեց, թէ քանի իմ անգլերէն ու հայերէն յօդուածներս տարածուած են բազմաթիւ հանդէսներուն մէջ և անմատչելի ընթերցողներուն, հետևաբար՝ պէտք է հաւաքուին և հրատարակուին մէկ հատորի մը մէջ։ Դարձեալ, շնորհիւ լուսանկարելու և փոքր ծախքով օֆսէթ եղանակով տպուելու դիւրութեան, իմ քառասունեօթ դրամագիտական յօդուածներս, լոյս տեսած 1952էն մինչև 1980 թուականներուն, հաւաքուեցան մէկ գիրքի մը մէջ, Դրամագիտական աշխատանքներու ժողովածուն վերնագիրով (Selected Numismatic Studies)։ *Ասիկա Հայ Դրամագիտական Ընկերակցութեան Յատուկ Հրատարակութիւն մատենաշարին թիւ* 1 *գիրքն էր։*

Դրամագէտներ երկար ատենէ ի վեր ճանչցած են, թէ որոշ կարգ մը դրամներ, կտրուած նախ քան զՔրիստոս երրորդ ու երկրորդ դարերուն, կը պատկանին հայ թագաւորներուն, սակայն գոյութիւն ունեցող դրամներուն սակաւաթիւ ըլլալուն պատճառով, չկարողացան նմոյշները հայկական դրամներու ուսումնասիրութեան կառուցուածքին կազմին մէջ դասաւորել։ Ե. Բաբելոն, այս հարցին ուղղուած, յատկացուց բազմաթիւ էջեր իր դասական աշխատանքին մէջ՝ Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène, *և Սամէսին, Արշամին, Քսերքսէսին և Աբդիսարէսին դրամները վերագրեց հայ թագաւորներուն։ Աւելի կանուխ, 1859 թուականին մէջ, Վ. Լանգլուա գրեց թէ այս դրամներէն ոմանք Հայաստանի կը պատկանին։ 1963 թուականին, Պրն. Սիրիլ Թումանով հրատարակեց իր բանասիրական աշխատանքը՝ Ուսումնասիրութիւններ Քրիստոնեայ կովկասեան պատմութեան* (Studies in Christian Caucasian History), *և ներկայացուց Հայաստանի Որոնդեան հարստութեան գահակալներուն ժամանակագրութիւնը սկսելով* 401 *Ն.Ք.էն մինչև* 95 *Ն.Ք.։*

Այս ժամանակագրութիւնը տարիներով չփոթեց և արգելակեց գիս ուսումնասիրելէ հին Հայաստանի մէջ իշխողներուն դրամները։ Ըստ Թումանովի, հինգ գահակալներ կրած են Որոնդաս անունը, բայց այլ գահակալներ, ներառեալ Սամէս, Արշամ և Քսերքսէս այս թագաւորութեան մասն էին։ Չէր կրնար բացատրուիլ այն իրողութիւնը, թէ Հայաստանի մէջ կտրուած Որոնդասի մը վերագրելի նոյն իսկ մէկ

կտոր դրամ գոյութիւն չունէր։ Վերջ ի վերջոյ մտքովս անցաւ, թէ Որոնդեան թագաւորները, որոնք դրամ կտրած են, նոյն իշխող թագաւորութեան չեն պատկանած։ Անգամ մը որ այս գաղափարը ամրապնդուեցաւ, պատմական աղբիւրներու հետ խորհրդակցութիւնը ինչպէս նաև վերջերս հրատարակուած Հայկական սովետական հանրագիտարանը փաւերացուցին իմ մտածելակերպս, թէ Մեծ Հայքի մէջ իշխող Որոնդեանները՝ Աքեմենեան թագաւորներու գերիշխանութեան ներքև, երբեք դրամ չեն հատանած։ Սելևկեան գերիշխանութեան ներքև գտնուող հարաւ արևմտեան Հայաստանի մէջ իշխող թագաւորները, դրամ թողարկեցին, ինչպէս որ ըրին Փոքր Ասիոյ միւս փոքր թագաւորութիւնները։

Շուտով թաքուն իրողութիւնները երևան եկան։ Մնացածը չատ յստակ էր։ Ես արդէն քաղած էի այս շրջանի պատկանող տեղեկութիւնները զանազան թանգարաններէն և անձնապէս հաւաքած էի բազմաթիւ նմոյշներ։ Հիմա բաւարար դրամներ մատչելի էին ուսումնասիրութեան համար և այս նիւթին վրայ կարևոր յօդուած մը հրատարակուեցաւ American Numismatic Societyի *Museum Notes* հանդէսին մէջ 1981 թուականին, Ծոփքի և Կոմմագենէի հայ թագաւորութեանց դրամները վերնագիրով (*Coinage of the Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene*)։ Յաջորդ տարին, Հայ Դրամագիտական Ընկերակցութիւնը հրատարակեց նոյն յօդուածը գրքոյկի ձևով իր հայերէն թարգմանութեան հետ միատեղ, իրենց Յատուկ Հրատարակութիւն մատենաշարով իբրև թիւ 4։

Այս ինքնակենսագրութիւնը հիմնապէս կը մատնանշէ իմ անցեալ յիսուն տարուան դրամագիտական ջանքերս։ Ակնկալելով, որ իմ աշխատանքս ուրիշները պիտի քաջալերէ՝ շարունակելու դրամագիտական հետազօտութիւններ այն բազմաթիւ խնդիրներու մասին, որոնք տակաւին լուծելի կը մնան, և արդիւնքը իրենց պիտի շնորհէ այն անսահման գոհունակութիւնը, զոր ես ստացած եմ հայկական դրամները հաւաքելով և ուսումնասիրելով[1]։

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[1] Թարգմանեց Եղիա Թ. Ներսէսեան, անգլերէն բնագրին համար տե՛ս նախորդ ինքնակենսագրութիւնը այս հատորին մէջ։

Նախնական հրատարակութեան համար տե՛ս Բազմավէպ, հատոր ԾԾԵ (1997), էջ 132-152։

COINAGE OF THE ARMENIAN KINGDOMS OF SOPHENE AND COMMAGENE

(Plates 1-2)

Historical Background

Certain types of coins which have on the obverse a characteristic headdress (called the Armenian tiara by Babelon, Langlois, Blau, and others) were struck in southwestern Armenia during the first three centuries before Christ. Although the existence of these coins has long been known, a systematic study of them has not been made because of the paucity of specimens and the lack of historical evidence for their proper attribution. Recent excavations at Nemroud Dagh[1] have shed much light on the history of this region—especially of Sophene and Commagene. In addition, much new material has surfaced, making it now possible to attempt a chronological attribution of the coinage of these two Armenian kingdoms.

Historians have generally acknowledged that Armenian and Greek tribes entered Asia Minor from Europe in the eighth century B.C. and gradually spread eastward toward the highlands of historic Armenia. By the sixth century B.C., Armenians were already settled over the lands of the Urartuan kingdom and were in close contact with the Medes.

During the rise of the Achaemenid empire, Armenia constituted a distinct province governed by satraps. Often these satraps were native rulers who had allied themselves with the Persian kings and participated in their military expeditions. For example, in the year 612 B.C., an Armenian ruler, Paruir, took part in the sack of

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[1] F. K. Dorner and T. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios: Die Ausgrabungen im Hierothesion des Mithridates Kallinikos von 1953-1956* (Berlin, 1963); L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latin de la Syrie* (Paris, 1929), 1, pp. 2-42.

Nineveh and was rewarded by being recognized king of Greater Armenia. Several centuries later, King Orontes of Armenia joined the Persian army with a contingent of 40,000 infantrymen and 7,000 horsemen in the battle of Arbela (331 B.C.) which resulted in the total victory of Alexander over Darius. The Orontid kingdom, however, was never conquered by Alexander. Its rulers were descended from the Achaemenid royalty and for a time controlled all of historic Armenia, including Sophene and Commagene.

Sophene, situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris rivers, separated the Hittites from the Urartuans. After Alexander's victory over Darius, it became the first region exposed to Greek influence and adopted some aspects of Greek culture. Around the third century B.C., the Seleucids forced its separation from historic Armenia and allowed it to form an independent kingdom. The rulers of Greater Armenia apparently did not issue coins, but the Armenian kingdom of Sophene, which included Commagene initially, followed the western custom of issuing coinage.

Perhaps the greatest single obstacle in studying the coinage of Sophene and related Armenian principalities has been the prevailing opinion that Sophene and Greater Armenia were governed by the same family of rulers.[2] Both Toumanoff and Lang presented us with a sequence of rulers of Armenia which included not only the kings of Sophene but also six Orontid kings who ruled over Greater Armenia. Because the names of the rulers of both Sophene and Greater Armenia were mixed together, it was hitherto impossible to correctly attribute the coinage of Armenia from the fifth to the first century B.C.

The excavations of the tumulus of Antiochus Theos of Commagene at the beginning of the twentieth century changed the picture and provided us with much information on the Orontids and on Sophene. They established that Sophene was a distinct and different Armenian kingdom. The recently published *Armenian Encyclopedia*

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[2] C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, 1963), pp. 282, 293-294; David M. Lang, *Armenia, Cradle of Civilization* (London, 1970), p. 121.

clearly differentiates the kingdom of Sophene at the start of the third century B.C. from that of Greater Armenia.[3]

The inscriptions of Nemroud Dagh list the ancestors of Antiochus I and connect his lineage with the Orontids of Armenia and the Achaemenid house. They also list the kings of Sophene, who were closely related to the ruling dynasties of Armenia and Persia. We are thus able to study the coinage of Sophene as that of a dynasty separate from Greater Armenia.

It has been noted that Armenians named their cities after the rulers who founded them.[4] This custom prevailed in Greater Armenia and in Sophene as well. A number of cities around Mount Ararat were named after the Artaxiad kings, and hundreds of miles southwest, we find another set of cities named after the rulers of Sophene.

Our present knowledge and the numismatic material now available make it possible to present the following chronology of the rulers of Sophene and of Commagene and their coinage.

SOPHENE

SAMES (ca. 260 B.C.)

Toumanoff[5] writes that the city of Samosata was first mentioned in the year 245 B.C. by Erasthenes who stated that Ziaelas of Bythinia took refuge in that city in 260 B.C. It seems justifiable to conclude that its founder, Sames, ruled around that time. Although no historical record exists concerning the rule of Sames, his coins were described as early as 1754.[6] Somewhat later, Belley[7] gave a

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[3] *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran* [Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia] (Erevan, 1970), Vol. 5, s.v. "Sophene," (by B. Haroutunian), pp. 139-141 (in Armenian).

[4] H. A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, trans. Nina Garsoian (Lisbon, 1965), e.g. pp. 34 and 37.

[5] Toumanoff, p. 280.

[6] E. Froelich, *Armenia Regum Numismatum...* (Vienna, 1754), pp. 89-91.

[7] L'Abbe Belley, *Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Vol. 26 (Paris, 1840), pp. 355, 380.

fuller description of the coins and attributed them to Sames. Subsequently, other numismatists have accepted this attribution.[8]

In his treatise on the coinage of ancient Armenia, Langlois[9] mentions the single specimen found in the Vienna Museum. Both Langlois and Babelon[10] considered this coin to be Commagenian. This is incorrect because at that time Commagene was part of the kingdom of Sophene, and the coin was issued by Sames of Sophene.

Sames initiated a style of coinage (Plate 1, 1), with the pointed headdress which, as mentioned above, underwent a gradual change and led to the tiara seen on the coins of the Artaxiads of Greater Armenia.[11] On the obverse, the king's head is turned right: he is wearing a tall, conical cap with a diadem, ending in a bow in the back and long strands falling down the neck. On the reverse are the names of the king and Thyrse of Dionysos, with interlaced cornucopiae. At least six examples of the coins of Sames have been found in various collections.

ARSAMES I (ca. 240 B.C.)

It is interesting that two cities were named after Arsames, Arsamosata and Arsameia. W. Dittenberger[12] and L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde[13] examined the chronological sequence of the rulers of this dynasty and reached the conclusion that there were two kings named Arsames. Although Toumanoff[14] disagrees with this conclusion, numismatic evidence (the existence of two types of coins bearing the name Arsames) strongly supports the argument in favor of two rulers named Arsames.

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[8] J. Eckel, *Catalogue du Musée de Vienne*, p. 252; T. E. Mionet, *Descriptions des medailles antiques, grecques et romaines*, Vol. 4 (1807), p. 454; E. Q. Visconti, *Iconographie Ancienne, iconograpahie grecque*, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1811), pp. 345-364.

[9] V. Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1859), p. 9.

[10] E. Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène* (Paris, 1890), p. ccviii.

[11] P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia* (London, 1978), p. 4.

[12] W. Dittenberger, *Orientis grecci inscriptiones selectae* 1 (Leipzig, 1903), p. 611.

[13] L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latin de la Syrie* (Paris, 1929), p. 28.

[14] Toumanoff, p. 281.

Some Arsames coins (Plate 1, 2-4), the obverses of which are remarkably similar to those of Sames, certainly belong to the first Arsames. On the reverse is a horseman galloping right, holding a spear in his right hand. A figure in front of the horse may represent a foot soldier. This reverse type appears on a coin that Morkholm[15] attributed to Ariarathes III of Cappadocia who ruled in that period. A variant of the reverse has two foot soldiers facing the armed horseman and a fallen soldier beneath the horse's feet. Two denominations of this coin were struck.

ARSAMES II (ca. 230 B.C.)

Arsames II is reported to have offered asylum to Antiochus Hierax, the viceroy of Asia Minor and brother of Seleucus II. Antiochus, by setting himself up as an independent king, had incurred the wrath of his brother. The obverse design on the coins of Arsames II is different from that of the preceding king. Instead of being conical, the tiara now resembles a cap and does not have the sharp point (Plate 1, 5-8). It sits lightly on the head with the diadem circling the forehead and ending in a bow in the back, then hanging down the neck. On the reverse of the large coppers, under the legend, is a horseman with a cap and floating robes, holding a spear in his right hand, galloping to the right. The larger copper coins of Arsames II have been described by Visconti, Langlois, Babelon,[16] and others.

The obverse of the smaller copper coins is identical to the large coppers, with the head of the king turned right and the same type of tiara. There are a number of variations in the reverse design, however, perhaps suggesting that this king ruled over a longer period than his predecessor. On one type is a nude figure, standing and facing, with the right arm extended from the elbow, the left holding a club. A second type shows an eagle turned left holding a bolt of

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[15] O. Mørkholm, "The Classification of Cappadocian Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Series, Vol. IX (1969), p. 22, pl. 5.

[16] Visconti, pp. 345-364; Langlois, p. 12; Babelon, p. 211.

lightning. The third type shows the caps of dioscuri along with the legend found on the others.[17]

XERXES (ca. 220 B.C.)

Xerxes was the son of Arsames and succeeded his father to the throne. A passage from Polybius[18] sheds considerable light on the events during his rule. It appears that Antiochus IV Epiphanes resolved to subdue Sophene and besieged Xerxes in his city of Arsamosata. Unable to resist such a powerful adversary, Xerxes sued for peace. It was granted on condition that he pay the tribute owed to Antiochus by Arsames. The payment is said to have consisted of 300 talents, 1,000 horses, and 1,000 mules with their harnesses. As a gesture of amity, Antiochus gave his sister in marriage to Xerxes.

The Nemroud Dagh inscriptions do not list Xerxes as one of the ancestors of Antiochus I of Commagene. However, as Toumanoff[19] has pointed out, not all the inscriptions have survived. The existence of coinage issued by Xerxes is ample proof that he was a ruler of this dynasty. Moreover, judging from the fabric and style of his coins, he was either the son or the successor of Arsames II.

The coinage of Xerxes (Plate 1, 9-10, 13-14; Plate 2, 15) shows the continued evolution in the design of the headdress of the kings of Sophene. The cap-like headdress is placed lightly on the head, with the diadem around the head and hanging in the back. The coins of Xerxes show the tiara folded, and open on the side. Unlike his predecessor, the king is heavily bearded, but as on all the coins of this dynasty, he is facing right. Several types of coins, in two denominations, are known to have been struck by Xerxes.

The earliest example of a chalcus of this king was described by Froelich[20] and later, by Langlois, Babelon and other writers. On the reverse of this coin is a representation of Victory standing left,

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[17] Numismatic Fine Arts 10 (September 17, 1981), 227-228.
[18] Polybius, 8.23.
[19] Toumanoff, p. 283.
[20] Froelich, pp. 91-100.

holding a crown or wreath in her extended right arm, with the left hand resting on the belt of her tunic. Other examples show Athena holding the crown and resting her left arm on a shield. Zeus appears on the reverse of a third variety, seated, holding Nike in his right hand, the left resting on a shield.

ABDISSARES (ca. 210 B.C.)

No information has survived from early historians to establish the genealogical position of this king. However, the striking similarity of his coins (Plate 2, 16-17) to those of Xerxes leaves little doubt that Abdissares was his successor. On the obverse, the king is turned right and is lightly bearded. The reverse of the larger coppers shows an eagle standing right. A similar eagle appears on the smaller versions of this coin. A horse's head, turned right, is on a second variety of the smaller denomination.

Visconti[21] was apparently the first to note the similarity between the coins of this king and those of Xerxes and to conclude that they belonged to a king of Arsamosata. Subsequently, de Saulcy[22] published an article on the coinage of Abdissares. Other numismatists, including Langlois[23] and Babelon[24] mentioned the existence of several types of coins struck by this king.

ZARIADRES (ca. 190 B.C.)

It appears that the Seleucids had extended their power over Sophene at the beginning of the third century B.C. and had appointed Zariadres (Zareh) as the strategus of Sophene. In the battle of Magnesia (189 B.C.), the Romans crushed the power of the Seleucids. Taking advantage of the situation, Zariadres declared his independence and was later recognized as king by Rome. It is in-

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21 Visconti, pp. 329.

22 M. de Saulcy, *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athenaeum français* (1855), No. 12, p. 101.

23 Langlois, pp. 15-18.

24 Babelon, p. cxciv.

teresting that the strategus of Greater Armenia, Artaxias, likewise declared his independence and established the Artaxiad dynasty.

These events have been described in some detail by Strabo.[25] Strabo made a significant remark to the effect that the political situation resulted in the formation of two independent countries whose people spoke the same language. Historians made the same statement a hundred years later when Tigranes the Great joined Sophene and adjacent lands to his empire. There seems to be no doubt that both Sophene and Commagene at that time were inhabited by Armenian people.

Friedlander[26] was the first to describe a coin with the legend ΔΣΑΡΙ (Plate 2, 18) which he attributed to a ruler in Armenia. Blau,[27] in discussing the coin in the Berlin Museum, attributed it to Zariadres of Sophene. His views were shared by Babelon; however, Regling considers this coin an issue of Anissa.[28]

Strabo indicated that Zariadres controlled territories beyond Sophene. Perhaps the establishment of a new realm justified a change from the type of coinage issued by the preceding kings of Sophene. On the obverse, we again see the king's head turned right, wearing a tiara. The headdress, however, is somewhat different, with the flaps under the chin. The different styling of the reverse prompted Babelon to suggest the possibility that this coin was struck outside of Sophene. On the reverse is a deity (Anaitis?) facing, with the right hand raised and holding a flower. At her feet are two sphinxes back to back and facing.

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[25] Strabo 11. 14. 5, 15.

[26] J. Friedlander, "Satrapenmünzen," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik,* Vol. IV (1877), pp. 266-267.

[27] O. Blau, "Die Herron von Sophene und deren Münzen," *Numismatische Zeitschrift,* Vol. IX (1877), p. 104.

[28] Babelon, p. cxcviii; K. Regling, "Dynastenmünzen von Tyana, Morima und Asisa in Kappadokien," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik,* Vol. XLII (1935), p. 10, No. 11, pl. I (Berlin).

MORPHILIG (ca. 150 B.C.)

Friedlander[29] described a coin similar to that of Zariadres in the Berlin Museum, with a deity (Anaitis) standing, holding a flower. The letters MOPI can be expanded to ΜΟΡΙΦΙΛΙΟΣ, as there is no space on the flan for the entire name.

Morphilig and Zariadres fit into the historical frame of the period. The headdress design on the coins of both kings bears marked similarities to that on the contemporary coins of Cappadocia.

ARTANES (ca. 110 B.C.)

According to Strabo,[30] Artanes, a descendant of Zariadres, was the last king of Sophene. He lost his kingdom in 95 B.C. No coins bearing his name are extant. The discovery of such a coin would do much to clarify the end of the coinage of the Sophene dynasty. There exists the possibility that a coin mentioned by Le Rider with the incomplete legend ...ΑΒΑΝΟΥ (Artabanes?) belongs to this king.[31]

ARSACES (ca. 90 B.C.)

On the evidence that Tigranes, upon adding Sophene to his empire, placed a certain Arsaces as governor of that region, de Sallet[32] suggested that certain coins with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ be attributed to this viceroy.

When Pompey in 69 B.C. signed a peace treaty with Tigranes the Great, he gave Sophene to Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia. As a result, this territory gradually became hellenized and became part of the Roman Empire.

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[29] Friedlander, pp. 266-267.

[30] See above, note 25.

[31] G. Le Rider, "Monnaies grecques acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles en 1959," *Revue Numismatique*, Sixth Series, Vol. II (1959-1960), p. 21, No. 28 (Paris).

[32] A. de Sallet, "Die ältesten Tetradrachmen der Arsaciden," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik,* Vol. I (1874), p. 312; see also P. Cl. Sibilian, "Drei sehr seltene Münzen armenischer Dynasten," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. II (1870), pl. 8, 3.

COMMAGENE

It was mentioned above that the Seleucids succeeded in detaching Sophene from Greater Armenia and allowed it to become an independent kingdom. This action probably secured the northern mountainous frontier and at the same time placed the territory, through which passed a major trade route, under the control of the Seleucids. Later, through the intervention of the Seleucids, Commagene detached itself from Sophene and also became an independent kingdom. The circumstances are not clear, but Diodores of Sicily stated that around 163 B.C., Ptolomaeus, the satrap of Commagene, declared his independence and even captured Melitene from the king of Cappadocia.[33]

Numismatists, in discussing the coinage of Commagene, have not considered this country as part of the Armenian kingdom. Historical evidence, however, shows clearly that its language and population was Armenian. It was, in effect, an Armenian kingdom separated from Greater Armenia for political reasons. It lost its connection with Armenia some one hundred fifty years later.

PTOLOMAEUS (ca. 163 B.C.)

We do not have any coins bearing the name of this ruler, which is a little surprising, as one would expect that a ruler beginning a dynasty would have taken pains to issue coins in his name.

MITHRIDATES I CALLINICUS (96-70 B.C.)

Several coins (Plate 2, 20-21, 23) have been attributed to this king. It is curious that he ruled during the period when Tigranes had gained control of both Sophene and Commagene. It may be that Mithridates was allowed to strike coins even though he recognized

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[33] Toumanoff, pp. 281-282; E. Honigmann, *Kommagene*, pp. 980, 983.

the overlordship of Tigranes. The same situation seems to have occurred with his successor, Antiochus.

A few coins of Callinicus are similar to the ones issued by the kings of Sophene, portraying on the obverse the king's head with the pointed Armenian tiara. Three examples have been described in the literature by Babelon and Troxell.[34] On one type, Athena is standing left with extended right hand, the left supporting a spear, with a shield at her feet. A second type attributed to this king shows on the reverse Pegasus with curled wing. The legend is incomplete. Troxell has attributed to Callinicus a third type with Pegasus on the reverse.

Other coins with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΜΙΘΡΙΔΑΤΟΥ which do not portray the king on the obverse must be attributed to Callinicus. The obverse shows an eagle turned right with a palm-branch under its left wing. This may represent the coat of arms of Tigranes who had extended his power over Commagene. On the reverse is the king's name, ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ, with a palm-branch upwards to right. The obverse of another example has an eagle and a winged caduceus. And its reverse has the legend ΒΑϹΙΛΕΩϹ/ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ/ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ. A fourth class of coins shows the king with a pointed tiara on the obverse and Pegasus on the reverse. The legends are unclear or missing.

ANTIOCHUS I THEOS (69-34 B.C.)

The accepted date for the beginning of the reign of this king coincides with the defeat of Tigranes at the hands of Pompey. For some reason, the few coins of Antiochus I which have reached us (Plate 2, 25, 27) bear on the obverse the portrait of the king wearing a tiara identical with the tiara seen on the coins of Tigranes.[35] This has prompted some discussion.[36] Were these coins struck for some years

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[34] Babelon, p. 217, pl. 30, 2-4; H. Troxell, "Greek Accessions, Asia Minor to India," American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes,* Vol. 22 (1977), pp. 21-22, pl. 4, 8-10.

[35] *BMC Cappadocia*, p. 102, pl. 14, 4.

[36] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "A Coin of Tigranes the Great of Armenia, Struck in Commagene," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Series, Vol. X (1970), pp. 19-22; R. D.

before the defeat of Tigranes, indicating the peaceful acceptance of the suzerainty of Tigranes by Antiochus, or were they struck after Tigranes lost control over Commagene? If the latter is true, then Antiochus must have adopted the Armenian tiara to stress the legitimacy of his succession as a descendant of the Armenian Orontid house which in turn was related to the Achaemenid house. The answer to these questions must be left to the historians, but it is clear that Antiochus, by placing the Armenian tiara on his coins, was either declaring himself to be a vassal of Tigranes the Great or was claiming that he had the same dynastic lineage as Tigranes.

In any event, after Antiochus, Commagene became a Roman province and the coins of the succeeding kings are entirely different in style and fabric. They are in effect Roman coins, indicating the termination of Commagene as an Armenian state.

Until recently only one type of coin of Antiochus I Theos was known. On the obverse is the portrait of the king wearing the Armenian tiara, and on the reverse, the lion of Commagene walking right, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. Recently the author acquired a second type of copper (Plate 2, 26) struck by this king, which appears to be overstruck on an unidentifiable coin. On the obverse is the familiar youthful portrait of the king turned right. On the reverse is an eagle, standing right on a branch with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.[37]

Sullivan, "Diadochic Coinage in Commagene after Tigranes the Great," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Series, Vol. XIII (1973), pp. 18-39.

[37] Originally published in 1985, Armenian Numismatic Society, *Special Publication*, No. 4; reprinted from American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes*, Vol. 28 (1983), pp. 71-88, pls. 11-12.

ԾՈՓՔԻ ԵՒ ԿՈՄՄԱԳԵՆԷԻ
ՀԱՅ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐՈՒԹԵԱՆՑ ԴՐԱՄՆԵՐԸ

(*Տախտակ* 1-2)

Պատմակաճ ակճարկ

Քրիստոսէ երեք դարեր առաջ որոշ տեսակի դրամներ կոխուեցան հարաւ-արեւմտեան Հայաստանի մէջ, որոնց ակողմին վրայ դրոշմուած է յատկանշական գլխանոց մը (Բաբելոնի, Լանգլուայի, Բլաուի և այլոց կողմէ կոչուած՝ հայկական խոյր)։ Դրամագէտներն ու պատմաբանները իրազեկ էին այս տեսակ դրամներու գոյութեան, սակայն լրջօրէն չէին ուսումնասիրած՝ նմոյշներու սակաւութեան և իրենց վերագրութեան համար անբաւարար տուեալներու պատճառով։ Նեմրուդ Տաղի[1] *արդի պեղումները մեծ լոյս սփռեցին այս շրջանի պատմութեան վրայ, մասնաւորաբար Ծոփքի և Կոմմագենէի մասին։ Վերջերս յայտնաբերուած նմոյշները մեծապէս սատարեցին այս երկու հայ թագաւորութեանց դրամներու ժամանակագրական վերագրումի մը։*

Պատմաբանները ընդհանրապէս համաձայն են, թէ հայ և յոյն ցեղախումբերը Եւրոպայէն Փոքր Ասիա մտան նախ քան գՔրիստոսի ութերորդ դարուն և ժամանակի ընթացքին տարածուեցան դէպի արեւելք և պատմական Հայաստանի բարձրավանդակը։ Արդէն հայերը հաստատուած էին Ուրարտուի թագաւորութեան հողամասին վրայ նախ քան գՔրիստոսի վեցերորդ դարուն և յարաբերութիւն մշակած՝ Մեդիոյ տեղացի ժողովուրդին հետ։

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[1] F. K. Dorner *և* T. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios: Die Ausgrabungen im Hierothesion des Mithridates Kallinikos von 1953-1956* (*Բեռլին*, 1963); L. Jalabert *և* R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latin de la Syrie* (*Փարիզ*, 1929), 1, *էջ* 2-42։

Աքեմենեան կայսրութեան տիրակալութեան շրջանին՝ Հայաստան որոշ նահանգ մըն էր և կը կառավարուէր սատրապներու կողմէ։ Սովորաբար այս սատրապները տեղացի ընիկ կառավարիչներ էին, որոնք դաշնակցած էին պարսիկ թագաւորներու և մասնակցած՝ անոնց զինուորական արշաւանքներուն։ Օրինակի համար, 612 Ն.Ք. թուին, Պարոյր իշխանը Նինուէի կործանման մասնակցելուն համար վարձատրուեցաւ և նկատուեցաւ Մեծ Հայքի արքան։ Քանի մը դարեր ետք, Որոնդաս (Երուանդ) արքան իր հետ բերելով 40,000 հետևազօրք և 7,000 այրուձի, մասնակցեցաւ Արբելայի (331 Ն.Ք. թ.) ճակատամարտին, պարսկական բանակի կողքին, որ վերջացաւ Աղեքսանդր Մեծի յաղթանակով և Դարեհի պարտութեամբ։ Որոնդեան թագաւորութեան հողամասը սակայն երբեք չգրաւուեցաւ Աղեքսանդր Մեծի կողմէ։ Որոնդեան գահակալները Աքեմենեան արքայական տոհմի շառաւիղներն էին և որոշ ժամանակաշրջան մը կառավարեցին պատմական Հայաստանը, ներառեալ Ծոփքն ու Կոմմագենէն։

Ծոփքը՝ գետեղուած Եփրատ և Տիգրիս գետերու միջև, Հիթիթները և Ուրարտացիները իրարմէ բաժնեց։ Աղեքսանդրի Դարեհին վրայ տարած յաղթանակէն ետք, Ծոփքը առաջին վայրն էր, որ յանդիման եկաւ յունական ազդեցութեան և ընդունեց յունական մշակոյթի կարգ մը երևոյթները։ Նախ քան զՔրիստոսի երրորդ դարուն Սելևկիացիները հարկադրեցին Ծոփքի բաժանումը պատմական Հայաստանէն և արտօնեցին առանձին թագաւորութեան մը հիմնադրութիւը։ Մեծ Հայքի գահակալները առեւտրական դրամ չթողարկեցին, բայց Ծոփքի հայ թագաւորութիւնը, որ կը պարունակէր Կոմմագենէն, հետևելով արևմուտքի սովորութեան, հատանեց իր իւրայատուկ դրամները։

Ծոփքի դրամներու ուսումնասիրութեան ընթացքին՝ թերևս մեծագոյն խոչընդոտը եղած է տիրող այն տեսակէտը, թէ Ծոփքը և Մեծ Հայքը կառավարուած էին նոյն տոհմի գահակալներու կողմէ[2]։ Թումանով և Լանգ միատեղ մեզի ընծայեցին Հայաստանի արքաներու ժամանակագրութիւն մը, որ պարունակեց ոչ միայն Ծոփքի արքաները, այլ նաև Որոնդեան վեց արքաները, որոնք իշխեցին Մեծ Հայքին վրայ։ Նախ քան զՔրիստոսի վեցերորդ դարէն սկսելով մին-

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[2] C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Ուաշինգթըն, 1963), էջ 282, 293-294; David M. Lang, *Armenia, Cradle of Civilization* (Լոնդոն, 1970), էջ 121։

չև առաջին դար ցարդ անկարելի եղած էր ճշգրտօրէն վերագրել Հայաստանի դրամները, քանի որ Ծոփքի և Մեծ Հայքի արքաներուն անունները իրարու խառնուած էին։

Քսաներորդ դարու սկզբին կատարուած՝ Կոմմագենէի Անտիոքոս Ա-ի դամբարանին պեղումները փոխեցին այս շրջանի հին պատմութիւնը և մեզի ընծայեցին նոր տեղեկութիւն Որոնդեաններու և Ծոփքի մասին։ Անոնք հաստատեցին թէ Ծոփքը առանձին և տարբեր հայ թագաւորութիւն մըն էր։ Վերջերս հրատարկուած Հայկական սովետական հանրագիտարանը յստակօրէն իրարմէ կը զանազանէ Ծոփքի և Մեծ Հայքի թագաւորութիւնները նախ քան զՔրիստոսի երրորդ դարէն սկսեալ[3]։

Նեմրուդ Տաղի արձանագրութիւնները կը ցուցակագրեն Անտիոքոս Ա-ի ցեղագրութիւնը և կը հաստատեն, թէ արիւնակցական յարաբերութիւն մը գոյութիւն ունէր Հայաստանի Որոնդեաններուն ու Աքեմենեաններուն միջև։ Ինչպէս նաև կը յիշատակեն Ծոփքի թագաւորները, որոնք սերտօրէն կապուած էին Հայաստանի և Պարսկաստանի գահակալ տոհմերուն։ Ներկայ տուեալներով կարելի է ուսումնասիրել Ծոփքի դրամները, իբրև յատուկ հարստութիւն մը, անջատուած՝ Մեծ Հայքէն։

Ցիշուած է թէ հայեր անուանեցին իրենց քաղաքները զանոնք հիմնող արքաներու անուններով[4]։ Այս սովորութիւնը տիրապետեց Մեծ Հայքի ինչպէս նաև Ծոփքի մէջ։ Արարատ լերան շուրջ, մի քանի քաղաքներ անուանուեցան Արտաշէսեան հարստութեան արքաներու անուններով, նոյնպէս նաև հարաւ-արևմուտք, հարիւրաւոր մղոններ անդին, մենք կը նշմարենք չարք մը քաղաքներ, կոչուած՝ Ծոփքի տիրակալներու անուններով։

Մեր պատմական ծանօթութիւնները և դրամագիտական տուեալները կ'արտօնեն ներկայացնել Ծոփքի և Կոմմագենէի հետևեալ արքաներու ժամանակագրութիւնը և իրենց դրամները։

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[3] Հայկական սովետական հանրագիտարան (Երևան, 1970), հատոր 5, "Ծոփք" վերնագիր (գրեց՝ Բ. Ցարութիւնեան), էջ 139-141։

[4] H. A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, թարգ. Nina Garsoian (Լիզպոն, 1965), օրինակի համար էջ 34 և 37։

ԾՈՓՔ

ՍԱՄԷՍ (շուրջ 260 Ն.Ք.)

Թումանով[5] կը գրէ թէ Սամոսատ քաղաքը յիշուած է 245 Ն.Ք. թուին Երասթենէսի կողմէ, որ կը գրէ թէ Բիւթանիոյ Զիալէսը հոն ապաստանեցաւ 260 Ն.Ք. թ.: Ուրեմն կարելի է եզրակացնել, թէ այն քաղաքի հիմնադիրը՝ Սամէս, գահակալած է նոյն ժամանակամիջոցին: Հակառակ որ պատմագիրները չեն յիշեր Սամէսի գահակալութեան մասին, իր դրամները[6] յիշուած են 1754 թ.: Աւելի ուշ, Բելլի[7] ամբողջովին նկարագրեց Սամէսին վերագրուած դրամները: Հետևաբար՝ այլ դրամագէտներ ընդունեցին այս վերագրումը[8]:

Լանգլուա[9], հին Հայաստանի վերաբերեալ իր բանասիրութեան մէջ, կը յիշէ Վիեննայի թանգարանին մէջ գտնուած եզակի նմոյշ մը: Լանգլուա և Բաբելոն[10] այս դրամը Կոմմագենեան կը նկատեն: Այս ճիշդ չէ, որովհետև այս ժամանակ Կոմմագենէն Ծոփքի թագաւորութեան մաս կը կազմէր և դրամը թողարկուած էր Ծոփքի Սամէսին կողմէ:

Սամէս սկսաւ հատանել դրամներու (Տախտակ 1, թիւ 1) համակարգ մը, որոնց վրայ պատկերուած է սրածայր գդակ մը: Ժամանակի ընթացքին գդակին ձևը փոխուեցաւ այն խոյրին, որ կը տեսնուի Մեծ Հայքի Արտաշէսեան հարստութեան դրամներուն վրայ[11]: Ակողմին վրայ պատկերուած է դէպի աջ դարձած արքայի կիսանդրին, կրելով բարձր և սրածայր գդակ մը, շրջապատուած վարսակալով, հան-

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[5] Toumanoff, էջ 280:

[6] E. Froelich, *Armenia Regum Numismatum...* (Վիեննա, 1754), էջ 89-91:

[7] L'Abbe Belley, *Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Vol. 26 (Փարիզ, 1840), էջ 355, 380:

[8] J. Eckel, *Catalogue du Musée de Vienne*, էջ 252; T. E. Mionet, *Descriptions des medailles antiques, grecques et romaines*, հատոր 4 (1807), էջ 454; E. Q. Visconti, *Iconographie Ancienne, iconograpahie grecque*, հատոր 2 (Փարիզ, 1811), էջ 345-364:

[9] V. Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie dans l'Antiquité* (Փարիզ, 1859), էջ 9:

[10] E. Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène* (Փարիզ, 1890), էջ ccviii:

[11] P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia* (Լոնդոն, 1978), էջ 4: Նաև Զարեհ Պտուկեան, *Արտաշէսեան հարստութեան դրամները* (Վիեննա, 1983):

գուցուած գլխին ետևը և ծայրերը ազատ արձակուած կ՚իյնան վզն ի վար։ Բեկողմին վրայ արձանագրուած է արքային անունը և կը նշմարուի Դիոնիսոսի մականը երկու խաչաձևուած ամաթեղջիւրներու միջև։ Սամէսի դրամէն նուազագոյն վեց նմոյշներ գտնուած են զանազան հաւաքածոներու մէջ։

ԱՐՇԱՄ Ա (շուրջ 240 Ն.Ք.)

Հետաքրքրական է որ երկու քաղաքներ անուանուած են Արշամի անունով՝ Արշամաշատ և Արշամիա։ Դիտտենբերգեր[12] ու Ջալաբերտ և Մուտերդէ[13] քննեցին ժամանակագրութիւնը այս հարստութեան գահակալներուն և եզրակացուցին, թէ Արշամ անունով երկու թագաւորներ իշխեցին։ Թէև Թումանով[14] չի համաձայնիր այս եզրակացութեան հետ, սակայն դրամագիտական վկայութիւնները (Արշամի անունով գոյութիւն ունեցող երկու տեսակ դրամներ) կը հաստատեն այն տեսակէտը, թէ Արշամ անունով երկու գահակալներ իշխեցին։

Արշամի դրամներէն ոմանք (Տախտակ 1, թիւ 2-4), որոնց ակողմերը ուշագրաւօրէն կը նմանին Սամէսի դրամին, անկասկած կը պատկանին Արշամ Ա-ին։ Բեկողմին վրայ պատկերուած է հեծեալ մը, որ կը ձիավարէ դէպի աջ, բռնելով նիզակ մը աջ ձեռքով։ Ձիուն առջև կանգնած անձը կրնայ հետևակ մը ըլլալ։ Բեկողմի նկարին տեսակը պատկերուած է նաև այլ դրամի մը վրայ, Մորկհոլմի[15] կողմէ վերագրուած՝ այս շրջանին իշխած Կապադովկիոյ Արիարաթէս Գ-ին։ Բեկողմի տարբերակ մը ունի երկու զինուորներ, որոնք կը հային դէպի սպառազինուած այրուձին և դէպի ինկած ռազմիկ մը ձիու ոտքերուն տակ։ Այս դրամէն երկու միաւորներ կորսուած են։

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[12] W. Dittenberger, *Orientis grecci inscriptiones selectae* 1 (Լայբցիգ, 1903), էջ 611։

[13] L. Jalabert և R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latin de la Syrie* (Փարիզ, 1929), էջ 28։

[14] Toumanoff, էջ 281։

[15] O. Mørkholm, “The Classification of Cappadocian Coins,” *Numismatic Chronicle*, Շրջան է., հատոր IX (1969), էջ 22, տախտակ 5։

ԱՐՇԱՄ Բ (շուրջ 230 Ն.Ք.)

Ըստ պատմագիրներու, Արշամ Բ ապաստան տուաւ Անտիոքոս Հիերաքսին՝ Փոքր Ասիոյ գահաժառանգը և Սելևկիոս Բ-ի եղբայրը։ Անտիոքոս արժանացած էր իր եղբօր գայրոյթին ինքզինք թագաւոր հռչակելուն պատճառով։ Արշամ Բ-ի դրամին ակողմի ոճը տարբեր է իրեն նախորդող թագաւորի դրամին ոճէն։ Խոյրը՝ փոխանակ ըլլալու սրածայր գդակ մը, հիմա կը նմանի գլխանոցի մը և չունի սուր գագաթ մը (Տախտակ 1, թիւ 5-8)։ Խոյրը հանգիստ կը նստի գլխուն վրայ, վարսակալ մը կը շրջապատէ ճակատը և հանգուցուած է գլխուն ետին, ծոպերը կ'իյնան վզն ի վար։ Մեծ պղինձներու ետևը, խորագրին ներքև, պատկերուած է ձիաւոր մը որ գդակ կը կրէ և հագած է պարեգօտ մը, աջ ձեռքով բռնելով նիզակ մը ու ձիավարելով դէպի աջ։ Արշամ Բ-ի խոշոր պղինձները նկարագրած են Վիյքոնտի, Լանգլուա, Բաբելոն[16] և ուրիշներ։

Փոքր պղինձներու ակողմերը նման են խոշոր պղինձներուն՝ արքայի կիսանդրին դարձած է դէպի աջ կրելով նոյն տեսակ խոյր մը։ Դրամի բեկողմի պատկերատիպէն քանի մը տարբերակներ կան։ Թերևս Արշամ Բ գահակալեց աւելի երկար ժամանակ քան թէ իր նախորդները։ Մէկուն վրայ պատկերուած է կանգնած ու հանդիպահայեաց մերկ կերպար մը, աջ թևը երկարելով մէջքէն դուրս և ձախով՝ բռնելով գաւազան մը։ Երկրորդ տեսակ մը ունի արծիւ մը դարձած դէպի ձախ բռնելով կայծակի չանթ մը։ Երրորդ տեսակին վրայ դրոշմուած է Դիոսկուրիի գդակները[17] ինչպէս նաև խորագրութիւնը, որ միւսներուն վրայ ալ արձանագրուած է։

ՔՍԵՐՔՍԷՍ (շուրջ 220 Ն.Ք.)

Քսերքսէս որդին էր Արշամի և յաջորդեց իր հօր գահին։ Պոլիբիուսէն[18] պարբերութիւն մը բաւարար լոյս կը սփռէ իր շրջանի պատմական դէպքերուն վրայ։ Կ'երևի թէ Անտիոքոս Դ Եպիփանոս որոշեց իրեն հպատակեցնել Ծոփքը. պաշարեց Քսերքսէսին իր Արշամաշատ քաղաքին մէջ։ Անկարող ըլլալով դիմադրել նման հզօր հակառակորդի մը, Քսերքսէս որոշեց խաղաղութեան դաշինք կնքել։

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[16] Visconti, էջ 345-364; Langlois, էջ 12; Babelon, էջ 211։
[17] Numismatic Fine Arts 10 (17 Սեպտեմբեր 1981), 227-228։
[18] Polybius, 8.23.

Խաղաղութեան պայմանն էր, որ ինք վճարէ Անտիոքոսին վճարելի, իր հօր՝ Արշամի տուրքը։ Ըստ պատմագիրներու, վճարումը պարունակած է 300 տաղանդ, 1,000 ձի և 1,000 ջորի իրենց պախուրցներով։ Իբրև բարեկամութեան շարժառիթ՝ Անտիոքոս իր քոյրը ամուսնացուց Քսերքսէսին։

Նեմրուդ Տաղի արձանագրութիւնները չեն յիշեր Քսերքսէսը իբրև Կոմմագենէի Անտիոքոս Ա-ի նախահայրերէն մին։ Սակայն ինչպէս որ Թումանով[19] նշած է, բոլոր արձանագրութիւնները չեն գոյատևած։ Քսերքսէսի թողարկած դրամներու վկայութիւնը բաւարար փաստ մըն է, թէ ինք իշխած է իբրև այս հարստութեան գահակալ մը։ Դատելով իր դրամներու յօրինուածքէն ու պատկերատիպէն, ինք կամ որդին կամ ալ յաջորդն էր Արշամ Բ-ին։

Քսերքսէսի դրամները (Տախտակ 1, թիւ 9-10 և 13-14. Տախտակ 2, թիւ 15) կը ցուցաբերեն շարունակական հոլովոյթը, որ գոյութիւն ունեցաւ Ծոփքի արքաներու գլխանոցին կառուցուածքի արուեստին մէջ։ Խոյրը գդակի նման՝ թեթևօրէն նստած է գլխուն վրայ, վարսակալը՝ ճակտին շուրջ և ծոպերը՝ կախուած գլխուն ետին։ Քսերքսէսի դրամներուն վրայի խոյրը կ'երևի ծալլուած և կողմը՝ բաց։ Իր նախորդներէն տարբեր, Քսերքսէս ունի առատ մօրուք, սակայն իր կիսանդրին ալ կը հայի դէպի աջ՝ այս հարստութեան այլ դրամներուն նման։ Քսերքսէսի կոխած զանազան դրամները ծանօթ են երկու տարբեր միաւորներով։

Այս արքայի քաղկոսին վաղագոյն նմոյշը նկարագրուած է Ֆրոլիչի[20] կողմէ, ապա՝ Լանգլուա, Բաբելոն և ուրիշներ։ Դրամի բեկողմին վրայ պատկերուած է Ցաղթանակը, կանգնած դէպի ձախ, բռնելով թագ մը կամ ծաղկեպսակ մը իր երկարած աջ ձեռքին մէջ, ձախ ձեռքը՝ հանգչած իր պարեգօտի գօտիին վրայ։ Այլ նմոյշներ կը ներկայացնեն Աթենասը թագ մը բռնած և իր ձախ ձեռքը՝ հանգչած վահանի մը վրայ։ Զևս կը ներկայացուի երրորդ տարբերակի մը վրայ, նստած, բռնելով Ցաղթանակը իր աջ ձեռքով, ձախը՝ հանգչած վահանի մը վրայ։

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19 Toumanoff, էջ 283։

20 Froelich, էջ 91-100։

ԱԲԴԻՍԱՐԷՍ (շուրջ 210 Ն.Ք.)

Հին պատմաբաններէն որեւէ տեղեկութիւն չէ հասած մեզի այս արքային ազգագրութիւնը ճշդելու համար։ Սակայն ուշագրաւ նմանութիւնը իր (Տախտակ 2, թիւ 16-17) եւ Քսերքսէսի դրամներուն միջեւ կասկածէ վեր կ'ընէ այն եզրակացութիւնը, թէ Աբդիսարէսն էր յաջորդողը։ Ակողմին վրայ արքան դարձած է դէպի աջ եւ ունի թեթեւ մօրուք մը։ Խոշոր պղինձներու ետին պատկերուած է կանգնած արծիւ մը դէպի աջ։ Նման արծիւ մըն ալ կ'երեւի այս դրամի փոքր տարբերակներուն վրայ։ Ձիու գլուխը դէպի աջ դրոշմուած է փոքր պղինձի մը երրորդ տեսակին վրայ։

Վիյքոնտի[21] *թերեւս առաջինն էր, որ նշմարեց նմանութիւնը այս արքայի եւ Քսերքսէսի դրամներուն միջեւ ու եզրակացուց, թէ անոնք կը պատկանին Արշամաշատի արքայի մը։ Յաջորդաբար՝ դը Սոլսի*[22] *հրատարակեց յօդուած մը Աբդիսարէսի դրամներուն վրայ։ Ուրիշ դրամագէտներ՝ Լանգլուա*[23] *եւ Բաբելոն*[24] *յիշեցին թէ այս արքան քանի մը տեսակ դրամ կոխած է։*

ԶԱՐԵՀ (շուրջ 190 Ն.Ք.)

Կ'երեւի թէ Սելեւկիացիները տարածեցին իրենց իշխանութիւնը Ծոփքի վրայ նախ քան գՔրիստոսի երրորդ դարու սկիզբը եւ հաստատեցին Զարեհը իբրեւ Ծոփքի կուսակալ։ Մագնեսիայի ճակատամարտին (189 Ն.Ք.) Հռոմէացիները ջախջախեցին Սելեւկիացիներուն ուժը։ Առիթէն օգտուելով՝ Զարեհ հռչակեց Ծոփքը անկախ թագաւորութիւն մը եւ Հռոմէացիներուն կողմէ ճանչուեցաւ իր անկախութիւնը։ Հետաքրքրական է որ Մեծ Հայքի կուսակալը՝ Արտաշէս, նմանապէս ինքզինքը հռչակեց անկախ եւ հիմնեց Արտաշէսեան հարստութիւնը։

Այս պատմական դէպքերու որոշ մանրամասնութիւնները նկարագրուած են Ստրաբոյի[25] *կողմէ։ Ստրաբոյ յատուկ յիշատակութեամբ*

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[21] Visconti, *էջ* 329։

[22] M. de Saulcy, *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athenaeum français* (1855), *թիւ* 12, *էջ* 101։

[23] Langlois, *էջ* 15-18։

[24] Babelon, *էջ* cxciv։

[25] Strabo 11. 14. 5, 15։

նչեց, որ իբրև հետևանք քաղաքական կացութեան, երկու անկախ երկիրներ կազմուեցան, որոնց ժողովուրդները կը խօսէին նոյն լեզուն։ Պատմաբանները ըրին նոյն յայտարարութիւնը հարիւր տարի ետք, երբ Տիգրան Մեծ միացուց Ծոփքն ու շրջակայ երկրամասերը իր կայսրութեան։ Ուրեմն կասկածէ վեր է, որ այն ատեն Ծոփքն ու Կոմմագենէն բնակեցուած էին հայ ժողովուրդով։

Ֆրիդլանդերը[26] առաջինն էր որ նկարագրեց դրամ մը ΔΣΑΡΙ (Տախտակ 2, թիւ 18) խորագրութեամբ, որ ինք վերագրեց Հայաստանի գահակալի մը։ Բեռլինի Թանգարանի մի դրամին քննարկութեան առթիւ, Բլաու[27] գայն վերագրեց Ծոփքի Զարեհին։ Իրեն համախոհ էին Բաբելոն, սակայն Րեգլինգ դրամը նկատեց Անիսային մի թողարկումը[28]։

Ստրաբոն յիշեց թէ Զարեհ կառավարեց հողամասեր Ծոփքէն ալ անդին։ Թերևս նոր պետութեան մը հաստատուիլը արդարացուց հին ընկալեալ տեսակ դրամի պատկերատիպին փոփոխութիւնը։ Ակողմին վրայ կը նշմարենք արքայի կիսանդրին դարձած դէպի աջ, կրելով գդակ մը։ Գլխանոցը սակայն քիչ մը տարբեր է, ունի ականջակալներ որոնք կ'իջնեն մինչև ծնօտին տակ։ Բեկողմին տարբեր ձևը դրդեց Բաբելոնին թելադրել նոյն հաւանականութիւնը, թէ դրամը կտրուած է Ծոփքէն դուրս։ Բեկողմին վրայ դրոշմուած է հանդիպահայեաց դիցուհի մը (Անահի՞տ), աջ թևը վեր բարձրացուցած բռնելով ծաղիկ մը։ Ոտքերուն քով կան կռնակ-կռնակի ու հանդիպահայեաց երկու սփինքսներ։

ՄՈՐՖԻԼԻԿ (շուրջ 150 Ն.Ք.)

Ֆրիդլանդեր[29] նկարագրեց դրամ մը, Զարեհի դրամին նման, Բեռլինի Թանգարանէն, ներկայացնելով կանգնած դիցուհի մը (Անահի՞տ), բռնելով ծաղիկ մը։ Քանի դրամի եզրին վրայ բաւարար միջոց

[26] J. Friedlander, "Satrapenmünzen," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik,* հատոր IV (1877), էջ 266-267։

[27] O. Blau, "Die Herron von Sophene und deren Münzen," *Numismatische Zeitschrift,* հատոր IX (1877), էջ 104։

[28] Babelon, էջ cxcviii; K. Regling, "Dynastenmünzen von Tyana, Morima und Asisa in Kappadokien," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik,* հատոր XLII (1935), էջ 10, թիւ 11, տախտակ I (Բեռլին)։

[29] Friedlander, էջ 266-267։

գոյութիւն չունի լրիւ անուան համար, խորագրի ΜΟΡΙ *գիրերը կրնան ընդլայնուիլ* ΜΟΡΙΦΙΛΙΟΣ-*ի։*

Մորֆիլիկ և Զարեհ կը դասաւորուին պատմութեան այս ժամանակամիջոցին մէջ։ Երկու արքաներու գլխանոցներուն ձևերը զարմանալիօրէն նման են Կապադովկիոյ ժամանակակից դրամներուն վրայ գտնուած գլխանոցներուն։

ԱՐՏԱՆԷՍ (*շուրջ* 110 *Ն.Ք.*)

Ըստ Ստրաբոյի[30], *Արտանէս՝ շառաւիղ մը Զարեհի, Ծոփքի վերջին արքան էր։ Ինք կորսնցուց իր թագաւորութիւնը* 95 *Ն.Ք. թ.։ Ցարդ իր անունը կրող դրամ չէ գտնուած։ Այս տեսակ դրամի մը յայտնութիւնը մեծ լոյս պիտի սփռէ լուսաբանելու Ծոփքի հարստութեան վերջաւորութեան կոխուած դրամները։ Թերևս գոյութիւն ունենայ դրամ մը, յիշուած Լը Րիդերի*[31] *կողմէ, ունենալով ոչ լրիւ խորագրութիւն՝* ...ΑΒΑΝΟΥ (*Արդաբա՞ն*), *որ կրնայ պատկանիլ այս արքային։*

ԱՐՇԱԿ (*շուրջ* 90 *Ն.Ք.*)

Հիմնուելով այն տուեալին վրայ, թէ Տիգրան երբ Ծոփքը կցեց իր կայսրութեան և գետեղեց Արշակ անունով կառավարիչ մը այդ շրջանին վրայ, դը Սալլէտ[32] *կը թելադրէ, թէ կարգ մը դրամներ* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ *խորագրով պէտք է վերագրուին այս փոխարքային։*

Երբ Պոմպէոս խաղաղութեան դաշինք մը կնքեց Տիգրան Մեծին հետ 69 *Ն.Ք. թուին, ինք տուաւ Ծոփքը Կապադովկիոյ Արիոբարզանէսին։ Իբրև արդիւնք, ժամանակի ընթացքին այս հողամասը հելլենացաւ և կազմեց Հռոմէական կայսրութեան մի մասը։*

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30 *Տե՛ս վերը, ծանօթագրութիւն թիւ* 25։

31 G. Le Rider, "Monnaies grecques acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles en 1959," *Revue Numismatique*, *Շրջան Զ.*, *հատոր* II (1959-1960), *էջ* 21, *թիւ* 28 (*Փարիզ*)։

32 A. de Sallet, "Die ältesten Tetradrachmen der Arsaciden," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, *հատոր* I (1874), *էջ* 312; *տե՛ս նաև* P. Cl. Sibilian, "Drei sehr seltene Münzen armenischer Dynasten," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, *հատոր* II (1870), *տախտակ* 8, 3։

ԿՈՄՄԱԳԵՆԷ

Նախապէս յիշուեցաւ թէ Սելեւկիացիք յաջողեցան Ծոփքը բաժնել Մեծ Հայքէն և արտօնեցին որ անկախ թագաւորութեան մը վերածուի։ Այս առիթը հաւանաբար ապահովեց հիւսիսային լեռնային սահմանը, միևնոյն ատեն հիւսիսային հողամասը, ուրկից կ'անցնէր առեւտրական ճամբայ մը, մտաւ Սելեւկիացիներու հակակշռին ներքեւ։ Ապա Սելեւկիացիներուն միջամտութեամբ, Կոմմագենէն անջատուեցաւ Ծոփքէն և վերածուեցաւ անկախ թագաւորութեան մը։ Ծարժաուիթները յստակ չեն, բայց Սիկիլիոյ Դիոծորոսը կը յիշէ թէ 163 *Ն.Ք. թուին, Պտղոմէոս՝ Կոմմագենէի սատրապը, հռչակեց իր անկախութիւնը և նոյն իսկ գրաւեց Մելիտենէն Կապադովկիոյ թագաւորէն*[33]։

Կոմմագենէի դրամները քննելու առթիւ, դրամագէտներ այս երկիրը չեն նկատած Հայաստանի մի մասը։ Պատմական տուեալներ սակայն կը ցուցնեն յստակօրէն, թէ ժողովուրդը հայ և լեզուն հայերէն էին։ Իրականութեան մէջ հայ թագաւորութիւն մըն էր, բաժնուած՝ Հայաստանէն հարիւր յիսուն տարիներ առաջ։

ՊՏՂՈՄԷՈՍ (*շուրջ* 163 *Ն.Ք.*)

Ջարմանալիօրէն այս գահակալի անունով թողարկուած դրամ չունինք, թէեւ ընթերցողը պիտի ակնկալէր որ նոր հարստութեան մը հիմնադիրը պիտի ծրագրէր դրամ կոխելու իր անունով։

ՄԻՀՐԴԱՏ Ա ԿԱԼԼԻՆԻԿՈՍ (96–70 *Ն.Ք.*)

Բազմաթիւ դրամներ (*Տախտակ* 2, *թիւ* 20–21, 23) *վերագրուած են այս արքային։ Հետաքրքրական է որ ինք իշխեց երբ Տիգրան գրաւած էր Ծոփքն ու Կոմմագենէն միատեղ։ Կրնայ ըլլալ որ Միհրդատ արտօնուած ըլլար դրամ կոխելու Տիգրանի գերիշխանութիւնը ճանչնալէ ետք։ Նոյն դրութիւնը կ'երեւի շարունակած է իրեն յաջորդող Անտիոքոսի գահակալութեան ընթացքին։*

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[33] Toumanoff, *էջ* 281-282; E. Honigmann, *Kommagene*, *էջ* 980, 983։

Կալլինիկոսի դրամներէն մի քանին նման են Ծոփքի արքաներու թողարկածներուն, ուր ակողմին վրայ պատկերուած է արքայի կիսանդրին սրածայր հայկական գդակով մը։ Երեք նմոյշներ նկարագրուած են դրամագիտական գրականութեան մէջ Բաբելոնի և Տրոքսէլի[34] կողմէ։ Մի տեսակին վրայ՝ Աթենասը կանգնած է դէպի ձախ, աջ ձեռքը՝ դուրս երկարած, ձախը՝ բռնած նիզակ մը, իր ոտքին առջև՝ վահան մը։ Այս արքային վերագրուած երկրորդ տեսակ մը կը ցուցնէ բեկողմին վրայ Պեգասոսը՝ ոլորուած թևով։ Խորագիրը լրիւ չէ։ Տրոքսէլ երրորդ տեսակի դրամ մըն ալ տուած է Կալլինիկոսին, որու ետին դրոշմուած է Պեգասոսը։

Այլ դրամներ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΜΙΘΡΙΔΑΤΟΥ արձանագրութիւններով, որոնք չեն պատկերացներ արքան ակողմին վրայ, պէտք է վերագրըւին Կալլինիկոսին։ Ակողմը կը ցուցնէ արծիւ մը դարձած դէպի աջ և արմաւենիի ճիւղ մը իր ձախ թևին ներքև։ Այս կրնայ ներկայացնել Տիգրանի զինանշանը, որ իր իշխանութիւնը տարածած էր Կոմմագենէին վրայ։ Բեկողմին վրայ արձանագրուած է արքային անունը՝ ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ, արմաւենիի ճիւղ մը դէպի վեր և աջ։ Այլ նմոյշի մը ակողմը ունի արծիւ մը և Հերմէսի թևաւոր մականը։ Բեկողմի խորագրութիւնն է ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC/ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ/ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ։ Չորրորդ դասի դրամները կը ներկայացնեն արքայի կիսանդրին սրածայր գդակով մը, դրոշմուած ակողմին վրայ ու Պեգասոսը՝ բեկողմին վրայ։ Խորագիրը յստակ կամ լրիւ չէ։

ԱՆՏԻՈՔՈՍ Ա ԹԷՈՍ (69-34 Ն.Ք.)

Այս արքայի գահակալութեան համար ընդունուած ժամանակաշրջանին սկիզբը կը համապատասխանէ Պոմպէոսին կողմէ Տիգրանին պարտուելու թուին։ Մեզի հասած մի քանի դրամներ, որոշ պատճառներով (Տախտակ 2, թիւ 25, 27), ակողմին վրայ կը պատկերացնեն արքայի մը նկարը, որ հագած է խոյր մը, նման Տիգրանի դրամներուն վրայ երևցածին[35]։ Այս տեսակի դրամները առաջադրեցին

[34] Babelon, էջ 217, տախտակ 30, 2-4; H. Troxell, "Greek Accessions, Asia Minor to India," American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes*, հատոր 22 (1977), էջ 21-22, տախտակ 4, 8-10։
[35] *BMC Cappadocia*, էջ 102, տախտակ 14, 4։

յատուկ յօղուած մը[36]։ Արդեօ՞ք այս դրամները Տիգրանի պարտուելէն առաջ կոխուած էին, յայտնաբերելով թէ Անտիոքոս ընդունած է Տիգրանի գերիշխանութիւնը, կամ ալ կոխուա՞ծ էին Տիգրանի Կոմմագենէն կորսնցնելէն ետք։ Եթէ վերջինը ճիշդ է, ուրեմն Անտիոքոս ընդունած է հայկական խոյրը՝ ցուցաբերելու համար թէ ինք սերած է օրինաւոր կերպով Որոնդեան գերդաստանէն, որոնք արիւնակցական կապ ունէին Աքեմենեան հարստութեան հետ։ Այս հարցումներու պատասխանները պէտք է ձգել պատմաբաններուն։ Բայց յստակ է որ հայկական խոյրը գետեղելով իր դրամներուն վրայ, ինք կամ կը յայտարարէ որ Տիգրանին ենթակայ է կամ ալ ինք Տիգրանին նման ունի նոյն արքայազուն ծագումը։

Ամէն պարագայի տակ, Անտիոքոսէն ետք Կոմմագենէ վերածուեցաւ հռոմէական նահանգի մը և յաջորդող արքաներու դրամները ամբողջովին տարբեր են թէ պատկերատիպով և թէ կերտուածքով։ Իրականութեան մէջ հռոմէական դրամներ են, յայտնաբերելով Կոմմագենէի վերջը իբրև հայկական անկախ թագաւորութիւն մը։

Ցարդ Անտիոքոս Ա Թէոսէն միայն մէկ տեսակ դրամ հրատարակուած էր։ Ակողմին վրայ պատկերուած է արքայի կիսանդրին, գլխուն կրելով հայկական խոյր մը· բեկողմին վրայ՝ Կոմմագենէի առիւծը կը քալէ դէպի աջ և արձանագրութիւնն է ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ։ Վերջերս հեղինակը ձեռք անցուց երկրորդ տեսակի պղինձ մը (Տախտակ 2, թիւ 26), կոխուած՝ նոյն արքային կողմէ, որ անորոշ դրամի մը վրայ կրկնադրոշմուած ըլլալու է։ Ակողմին վրայ պատկերուած է արքային ծանօթ երիտասարդ նկարը դարձած դէպի աջ· բեկողմին վրայ՝ ճիւղի մը վրայ դէպի աջ կանգնած արծիւ մը, ունենալով ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ խորագրութիւնը[37]։

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36 Paul Z. Bedoukian, "A Coin of Tigranes the Great of Armenia, Struck in Commagene," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Շրջան Է., հատոր X (1970), էջ 19-22; R. D. Sullivan, "Diadochic Coinage in Commagene after Tigranes the Great," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Շրջան Է., հատոր XIII (1973), էջ 18-39։

37 Նախնական հրատարակութեան համար տե՛ս *Coinage of the Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene*, Հայ Դրամագիտական Ընկերակցութիւն, Յատուկ Հրատարակութիւն, թիւ 4, էջ 19-31։

CATALOGUE

SOPHENE

SAMES (ca. 260 B.C.)

Two chalci

1. Obv.: Head of Sames r. wearing pointed tiara with ends of diadem hanging at back of neck; behind head, a laurel branch; border of dots.
   Rev.: Thyrsos of Dionysos, between two cornucopiae interlaced; to l. upward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΣΑΜΟΥ; to r. upward ΘΕΟΣΕΒΟΥΣ/ΚΑΙΦΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

   Bibliothèque Nationale, 4.80 g, 4.15 g; Paul Bedoukian, 7.69 g, 7.56 g (Plate 1, 1); Hunterian Museum, one specimen; Mekhitarian Museum, Vienna, one specimen; Hermitage, 6.14 g.

ARSAMES I (ca. 240 B.C.)

Two chalci

2. Obv.: Head of Arsames r. wearing pointed tiara with drapes covering neck.
   Rev.: Horseman advancing r. with spear in r. hand and pointed at foot soldier or soldiers facing him with shield and spear; sometimes below horse, a fallen soldier; above horseman ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

   Paul Bedoukian, 6.45 g (Plate 1, 2a), 5.87 g (Plate 1, 2b); British Museum, 4.51 g; Jack Guevrekian, 4.25 g.

One chalcus

3. Obv.: As 2.
   Rev.: As 2.

   Paul Bedoukian, 3.18 g, 2.92 g (Plate 1, 3).

4. Obv.: As 2.
   Rev.: Winged thunderbolt; to l. upward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΡΣΑ–ΜΟΥ; to r. uncertain.

   American Numismatic Society, 3.61 g (Plate 1, 4).

ARSAMES II (ca. 230 B.C.)

Two chalci

5. Obv.: Head of king r. wearing tiara with flat top like a cap; a diadem encircles the head, ends in bow, and hangs down neck.

   Rev.: Horseman advancing r. holding spear in r. hand and wearing similar headdress; above horseman ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ /ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

   Paul Bedoukian, 8.35 g (Plate 1, 5); Bibliothèque Nationale, 6.59 g; Mekhitarian Museum, Vienna, one specimen.

6. Obv.: As 5.

   Rev.: Nude figure standing and facing, r. arm extended from elbow and l. arm holding long club; to r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to l. downward ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

   Paul Bedoukian, 6.41 g, 5.37 g (Plate 1, 6); Jack Guevrekian, 7.68 g; British Museum, three specimens.

One chalcus

7. Obv.: As 5.

   Rev.: Eagle standing r. holding thunderbolt; legends as 6.

   Paul Bedoukian, 5.27 g (Plate 1, 7), 3.87 g; Mekhitarian Museum, Vienna, one specimen.

8. Obv.: As 5.

   Rev.: Caps of dioscuri; legends as 6.

   Paul Bedoukian, 3.25 g (Plate 1, 8).

XERXES (ca. 220 B.C.)

Two chalci

9. Obv.: Bearded head of king r. wearing folded tiara; diademed with ribbon hanging behind head; in l. field, monogram ¥.

Rev.: Victory standing l. holding crown in extended r. hand, l. hand resting on belt of tunic; in field, monogram NK; to r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to l. downward ΧΕΡΧΟΥ.

Paul Bedoukian, 5.43 g (Plate 1, 9); Bibliothèque Nationale, 5.42 g; Berlin Museum, 4.97 g; Mekhitarian Museum, Vienna, one specimen.

10. Obv.: As 9, no monogram.
Rev.: Athena seated holding a figure (Minerva?) in extended r. hand; l. hand resting on large shield; legends as 9, no monogram.

Berlin Museum, 4.51 g (Plate 1, 10).

One chalcus

11. Obv.: As 10.
Rev.: As 9, monogram H.

Bibliothèque Nationale, 1.90 g.

12. Obv.: As 11.
Rev.: As 9, monogram Z.

Rollin collection (see Langlois).

13. Obv.: As 11.
Rev.: As 9, monogram N.

British Museum, 1.89 g (Plate 1, 13).

14. Obv.: As 9.
Rev.: As 10.

Bibliothèque Nationale, 1.90 g (Plate 1, 14); Hermitage Museum, one specimen.

15. Obv.: As 9.
Rev.: Athena standing l. holding crown in extended r. hand and resting l. arm on shield.

Bibliothèque Nationale, 2.52 g (Plate 2, 15); Mekhitarian Museum, Vienna, one specimen; Hermitage Museum, one specimen.

ABDISSARES (ca. 210 B.C.)

Two chalci

16. Obv.: Head of king r., lightly bearded, wearing folded tiara; diademed, with, ribbon hanging behind head; beaded border.

Rev.: Eagle standing r.; to r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to l. downward ΑΒΔΙΣΣΑΡΟΥ.

American Numismatic Society, 6.73 g; Paul Bedoukian, 5.71 g (Plate 2, 16a); Bibliothèque Nationale, 7.40 g; Berlin Museum, 9.44 g (Plate 2, 16b), 7.25 g; Jack Guevrekian, 7.77 g.

One chalcus

17. Obv.: As 16.

Rev.: As 16.

American Numismatic Society, 2.18 g; British Museum, 2.99 g (Plate 2, 17); Bibliothèque Nationale, 2.15 g, 1.85 g; Mekhitarian Museum, Vienna, one specimen.

ZARIADRES (ca. 190 B.C.)

18. Obv.: Head of king r., wearing a tiara with flaps tied under chin.

Rev.: Deity (Anaitis ?) standing facing; r. hand raised, holding flowers; at feet two sphinxes, seated, back to back and facing; to r. downward ΑΝΙΣΑ/ΔΩ; to l. downward ΔΣΑΡΙ.

British Museum, 5.42 g (Plate 2, 18); Berlin Museum, one specimen.

MORPHILIG (ca. 150 B.C.)

19. Obv.: Head of king turned r., wearing pointed tiara with flaps tied under chin.

Rev.: Deity (Anaitis ?) standing; to r. downward ΔΣΑΡΙ [ΑΔΡΙΟΣ]; below deity ΜΟΡΙ[ΦΙΛΙΟΣ].

Berlin Museum, one specimen.

ARTANES (ca. 70 B.C.)

No known coins.

ARSACES (after 70 B.C.)

No known coins, but see A. de Sallet, "Die ältesten Tetradrachmen der Arsaciden," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik,* Vol. I (1874), p. 312; and P. Cl. Sibilian, "Drei sehr seltene Münzen armenischer Dynasten," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. II (1870), pl. 8, 3.

COMMAGENE

PTOLOMAEUS (ca. 163 B.C.)

No known coins.

MITHRIDATES I CALLINICUS (96-70 B.C.)

Two chalci

20. Obv.: Head of Mithridates r., beardless, wearing pointed tiara with flaps down and behind neck.

Rev.: Athena wearing helmet and long chitan, standing l.; r. hand extended while l. hand supports spear; large shield rests at her feet; to r. downward ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC; to l. downward ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ/ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ.

American Numismatic Society, 8.47 g; Bibliothèque Nationale, 6.55 g; Hunterian Museum, 7.52 g; Paul Bedoukian, 5.72 (Plate 2, 20), 5.56 g, 5.53 g, 5.49 g, 5.41 g, 5.33 g.

One chalcus

21. Obv.: As 20.

Rev.: As 20.

Paul Bedoukian, 4.54 g (Plate 2, 21); Berlin Museum, 4.77 g; British Museum, 3.88 g.

22. Obv.: Head of king r. wearing tall pointed tiara, with ties ending in bow at back of head and long strands falling down over back of neck.
    Rev.: Pegasus with curved wings l.; below, sword; above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; below ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ.
    American Numismatic Society, 3.47 g (Plate 2, 22).

23. Obv.: Eagle turned r. and holding palm-branch under l. wing.
    Rev.: Palm-branch upward and curving r.; to l. upward ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC/ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ; to r. upward ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ.
    Bibliothèque Nationale, 3.85 g, 3.39 g; British Museum, 4.52 g (Plate 2, 23).

24. Obv.: As 23.
    Rev.: Winged caduceus; to r. downward ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC; to l. downward ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ/ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ.
    American Numismatic Society, 4.51 g (Plate 2, 24); Bibliothèque Nationale, 3.95 g.

ANTIOCHUS I THEOS (69-34 B.C.)

Two chalci

25. Obv.: Head of beardless king r. wearing tiara of Tigranes the Great, having eight-pointed star and eagles back to back facing.
    Rev.: Lion walking r.; above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; below ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.
    Paul Bedoukian, 7.55 g, 7.26 g, 6.52 g, 5.88 g (Plate 2, 25), 5.55 g; British Museum, one specimen.

26. Obv.: As 25.
    Rev.: Eagle standing on branch r.; legends as 25.
    Paul Bedoukian, 6.00 g (Plate 2, 26).

One chalcus

27. Obv.: As 25.
    Rev.: As 25.
    Paul Bedoukian, 2.95 g, 2.93 g (Plate 2, 27).

SOME UNPUBLISHED COINS OF THE ARTAXIADS OF ARMENIA

(Plate 3)

Since the publication of the author's corpus *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia,*[1] a number of new specimens have come to light which deserve attention.

As expected, most of the new varieties reported here belong to Tigranes the Great, since he ruled over a large territory for nearly half a century. On the other hand it is disappointing that so far no coins have been discovered which can be attributed to Artaxias I (190-160 B.C.) the founder of the dynasty, or to his son Artavasdes I (160-121 B.C.). Nor have any coins turned up which would clarify the tentative attributions of certain coins to Artaxias II (30-20 B.C.).[2]

TIGRANES THE GREAT (95-56 B.C.)

Tetradrachm (silver)

No. 1. An interesting specimen which came into the author's possession recently is quite similar in styling to Bedoukian No. 26[3] both on the obverse and reverse except for the fact that the word Tigranes is repeated. No special significance can be attributed to this repetition and it may be considered an error on the part of the die-cutter.

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[1] P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia* (London, 1978).

[2] *ibid.*, pp. 29, 70.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 53, pl. 3.

Copper coins

Two chalci

No. 2. This coin has several noteworthy features. It bears the letter A on the obverse, to the left of the king's portrait. This letter is found on a number of coppers of Tigranes II[4] although its significance is not known. In addition, on the reverse in exergue, there is the lettering ΛΘ, and again we are unable to explain its meaning. Various monograms and letters appear on the reverse of a number of coins of Tigranes and hopefully their purpose will be clarified some day. It is interesting that this type of reverse, showing a head of wheat upright, is seen on the coins of Artavasdes II,[5] the son of Tigranes the Great.

No. 3 was probably struck in Damascus as it bears a striking similarity to Bed. 113 both in appearance and in styling.[6] The obverse of both coins is certainly the work of the same die-maker. The reverse is somewhat different on our coin and shows Nike holding a curnucopiae in the left hand while the right hand is resting on a tiller. It is curious that both this coin and Bed. 113 have the letters ΘE above OΦ in exergue. An example of a very similar coin was described by Newell[7] but with a monogram instead of the letters.

No. 4 is probably a variant of Bed. 99[8] and shows a fine portrait of Tigranes with the usual tiara. On the reverse Heracles (Vahagn) is dressed instead of being nude as in Bed. 99, and the three-line legend is placed differently, with the first two lines being on the right instead of on the left.

No. 5. On numerous coppers of Tigranes the letters ΔH or ΔHM are on the reverse. The appearance of ΔHMO is most unusual[9] and may in the future facilitate the determination of its meaning. The

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[4] *ibid.*, pp. 67-68, Nos. 120, 124, pl. 6.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 70, pl. 6, No. 135.

[6] *ibid.*, p. 66, pl. 5, No. 113.

[7] E. T. Newell, *Late Seleucid Mints in Ake-Ptolemais and Damascus* (New York, 1939), p. 96.

[8] Bedoukian, p. 63, pl. 5, No. 99.

[9] Dr. M. Abgarians of Los Angeles informs me that he has a coin in his possession similar to Bed. 114, on which in exergue the letters ΔHMO appear below Nike.

reverse of the coin is somewhat similar to Bed. 122, except that the tripod and its diagonal supports cover most of the surface.

No. 6. This is a curious coin, quite worn, but one side seems to present the reverse of Bed. 121[10] showing a palm-branch curved left, probably with the same legend. The other side of the coin has an eagle turned right and no legend. Since one side belongs to Tigranes II, and all reverses of Artaxiad coins bear a legend, one is justified in assuming that the eagle represents a countermark and not a royal issue. There is some evidence of overstriking, hence the likelihood that this is really Bed. 121. Some coins of Tigranes III and Tigranes IV have an eagle on the reverse, but they all bear a legend.

One chalcus

No. 7. This coin possesses considerable artistic merit even though it is struck on a poor flan. The obverse has the fine portrait of Tigranes II with the tiara and two eagles. On the reverse is an artistic representation of a horse prancing left. The eagle, the elephant, and the horse appear frequently on Artaxiad coins.

No. 8. This small coin having a horse on the reverse represents another variety. The coin has less merit than No. 7 artistically. The styling of both obverse and reverse is rather crude. The reverse has a horse walking right with the head down as if grazing.

No. 9 is apparently the smaller denomination of No. 2 described above. On the obverse is the letter A to the left of the king's head. On the reverse is a head of wheat with traces of letters below it. On the left, the king's name is clearly legible but the legend on the right is off the flan. The reverse type is often seen on contemporary coins of Asia Minor.

No. 10. Since the weight of this coin is 2.22 grams it may be considered as being one chalcus. (The specimen listed in the author's corpus[11] weighing 1.27 grams has been designated as half a chal-

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[10] Bedoukian, p. 67, pl. 7, No. 121.

[11] *ibid.*, p. 64, pl. 5, No. 107.

cus.) The two are quite similar in style, fabric and legend. Hence No. 10 is a higher denomination of Bed. 107.

ARTAVASDES II (56-34 B.C.)

Tetradrachm (silver)

No. 11. The recent discovery of tetradrachms of Artavasdes II is of the greatest importance to the numismatist and historian. These pieces are undoubtedly genuine and prove that Artavasdes II followed in the footsteps of his father and struck tetradrachms. One might mention with some pride that a very beautiful specimen of this coin appeared on the cover of the auction catalogue of Bank Leu.[12] It is the first time that an Armenian coin has been considered worthy of such recognition. So far two specimens are known to the writer but there is a strong possibility that others are in the hands of dealers.

One might mention that the Erevan specimen[13] in styling and appearance does not entirely eliminate the possibility that it was a contemporary forgery.[14]

Copper coins

Two chalci

No. 12. It is indeed curious that we have so few coins of this king who ruled for twenty years over a large and powerful kingdom. This specimen may be a variant of Bed. 133[15] but the condition of the coin does not permit an accurate description of the obverse and reverse.

TIGRANES III (20-8 B.C.)

One chalcus

No. 13. The cast of this coin kindly sent to me by the late Dr. C. Kraay of the Ashmolean Museum presents a problem in attribution.

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[12] Bank Leu, *Auktion 30* (Zurich, April 28, 1982), p. 38, No. 201, pl. 12.

[13] Kh. A. Mousheghian, "The Tetradrachm of Artavasdes II," *Patma-Banasirakan Handes*, Vol. XVII (1964), No. 2 (25), pp. 317-323 (in Armenian).

[14] Bedoukian, p. 25.

[15] *ibid.*, p. 70, pl. 6, No. 133.

The styling of the obverse is similar to Bed. 89-90 or 159. The reverse, however, is Bed. 141, showing the king driving a biga with galloping horses. This reverse is seen only on Bed. 141 on a copper coin attributed to Tigranes III. The legend on the Ashmolean specimen is also puzzling. There are no traces of lettering above the horses, and the legend below reads ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC or ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ. In either case, the word ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ which appears on all the Tigranes III coppers, is missing on the Ashmolean coin.

TIGRANES V (ca. A.D. 6)

One chalcus

No. 14. Three copper coins of Tigranes V, each unique and different from each other have been known for a long time.[16] The discovery of a coin of the type Bed. 166 raises the possibility that other specimens may be found which may shed light on the history and coinage of the last kings of the Artaxiads of Armenia. The present specimen is very similar to Bed. 166, except that it is a different issue. On the obverse the portrait of Tigranes is typically Artaxiad while on the reverse the bust of Queen Erato is similar to that appearing on Bed. 165 and 166.

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS

TIGRANES II (95-56 B.C.)

Tetradrachm

1. Obv.: Head of Tigranes r., wearing five-pointed Armenian tiara. A diadem encircles the head and falls downward. Divided drapes partially cover the ear and the neck. The tiara is adorned with an eight-pointed star flanked by two eagles back to back, heads turned toward each other. Fillet border.

   Rev.: To r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to l. downward ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Tyche of Antioch, draped and wearing a

[16] *ibid.*, pp. 76-77, pl. 8, No. 166.

turreted crown, seated r. on a rock, holding a palm-branch in her r. hand; at her feet, a figure representing the river-god Orontes swimming r. Small circle in the field below the palm-branch.

Author's collection 15.56 g

Copper coins

Two chalci

2. Obv.: Head of Tigranes r. Usual Armenian tiara with star and two eagles back to back. Dotted border.
   Rev.: To r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to l. downward ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Head of wheat or branch upright. Below the branch the letters ΛΘ.

   Author's collection 4.70 g, 4.68 g

3. Obv.: Head of Tigranes r. with crudely fashioned tiara.
   Rev.: To r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to l. downward ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Female figure turned l. holding long spear with l. hand and r. hand leaning on shield. To l., in exergue, ΘΕ above ΟΦ.

   Author's collection 4.20 g

4. Obv.: Bust of Tigranes r. with Armenian tiara adorned with star and two eagles as in 1.
   Rev.: To r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ; to l. downward ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Warrior turned l. holding uncertain object in l. hand; r. hand leaning on club.

   Author's collection 3.80 g

5. Obv.: Head of Tigranes r. wearing tiara.
   Rev.: To r. downward [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]; to l. downward ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Tripod-lebes. Beneath tripod the letters ΔΗΜΟ.

   Author's collection 3.12 g

6. Obv.: Eagle turned r.
   Rev.: To r. downward ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC; to l. downward ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Palm-branch curved to l.
   Author's collection 3.23 g

One chalcus

7. Obv.: Head of Tigranes r. with Armenian tiara adorned with star and two eagles as in 1.
   Rev.: Above horse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; below horse ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Horse prancing l.
   Author's collection 2.46 g

8. Obv.: As in preceding.
   Rev.: Above horse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; below horse ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Horse prancing r.
   Author's collection 2.32 g

9. Obv.: As in preceding but with letter A to l. of head.
   Rev.: To r. downward [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]; to l. downward ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Branch or head of wheat upright.
   Author's collection 2.13 g

10. Obv.: Bust of Tigranes r. wearing usual Armenian tiara.
    Rev.: To r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to l. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ /ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Head of wheat with two leaves below it.
    Author's collection 2.22 g

ARTAVASDES II (56-34 B.C.)

Tetradrachm

11. Obv.: Full draped bust of Artavasdes r., wearing ear-ring and five-pointed Armenian tiara. The tiara is adorned with a square eight-rayed star flanked by floral designs. A broad folded diadem knotted at the back and flowing downward encircles the head. A single drape covers the neck. Bead-and-reel border.

Rev.: Above charioteer to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ; below charioteer to r. ΑΡΤΑVΑΣΔΕΩ/ΘΕΙΟΥ. In l. field monogram ⧺ and below it the letters ΙΖ. Charioteer wearing a crown and driving a galloping quadriga to l. He is holding the reins with his l. hand.

Bank Leu Auction 30, No. 201, 16.16 g
(Second secimen, private collection)

Copper coins

Two chalci

12. Obv.: King's head to r. wearing Armenian tiara.
Rev.: To r. downward ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC; to l. downward ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ /ΑΡΤΑVΑΣΔΟΥ. Nike advancing l. holding uncertain objects in r. and l. hands.

Author's collection 4.26 g

TIGRANES III (20-8 B.C.)

One chalcus

13. Obv.: Head of Tigranes r. with a hooked nose somewhat similar to Bed. 89-90. He is wearing the usual Armenian tiara.
Rev.: Below horses ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ (or ΛΝ, ΑΝ?). The last two letters on a slightly lower level. Lower line ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. The king driving biga with galloping horses to l. He is holding the reins with l. hand and palm (?) with r. hand.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 2.26 g

TIGRANES V (ca. A.D. 6)

One chalcus

14. Obv.: Bust of Tigranes r. and wearing Armenian tiara. Clockwise legend ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC/ΜΕΓΑC/ΝΕΟC/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΙC.
Rev.: Bust of Queen Erato l. Counterclockwise legend ΕΡΑΤω ΒΑCΙΛΕωC ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΗ.[17]

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[17] Originally published in *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, New Series, Vol. XVII (1983), pp. 279-287.

AN UNPUBLISHED COIN OF TIGRANES III (20-8 B.C.)

(Plate 5)

At a recent auction sale of ancient and medieval Armenian coins, the writer purchased a hitherto unpublished copper coin of Tigranes III which is worthy of mention.[1]

The auction catalogue[2] did not give an accurate description of the coin which weighs 5.33 grams, making it a 4 chalci (not a 2 chalci as listed in the catalogue). The coin is somewhat similar but not identical to CAA (*Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia*) 144 which describes six 2 chalci specimens averaging 3.78 grams.[3]

On the obverse of the coin purchased is a representation of a youthful king facing right, wearing a tall tiara with a ten-pointed star, instead of the six-pointed star in CAA 144. On the reverse is a horse turned left, with foreleg raised. The legend is three sided (not square as in CAA 144), reading right downward, ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC; to left downward, ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ; and above the horse to right, ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ.

The legends of Tigranes III coins are horizontal, vertical, or square. In writer's corpus,[4] four types of coins are listed having vertical legends, represented by twelve specimens, two types with horizontal legends, represented by five coins, and five types with square legends, represented by fifteen specimens.

It thus appears that the coin under discussion represents a transitional period in the coinage of Tigranes III. When Tigranes III

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[1] Credit Suisse. *Auction 4: Important Ancient and Mediaeval Coins Including an Armenian and Judaean Collection* (Berne, 1985), pp. 104-131. Auction held at the Essex House Hotel, New York City, on December 3, 1985.

[2] *ibid.*, No. 667.

[3] Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia* (London, 1978), No. 144.

[4] *ibid.*, pp. 29-33, 70-73, pls. 6 and 7, Nos. 137-147.

adopted a pro-Parthian policy, he probably began to issue coins of the Parthian type.[5]

A review of the background of Tigranes III may be of interest. History tells us that in the spring of 34 B.C. Antony entered Armenia with a strong army and invited Artavasdes II, the son of Tigranes the Great, to a conference. When Artavasdes arrived at Antony's camp, he was treacherously made prisoner, and along with his queen and two sons, sent to Cleopatra. Shortly thereafter, Artavasdes was murdered by Cleopatra and his two sons sent to Rome.[6]

A third son, Artaxias, escaped to Parthia. To avenge his father's death he eventually gathered an army and with the assistance of the Parthians entered Armenia, regaining the throne, and put to the sword all the Romans who had settled in Armenia.

Artaxias ruled for ten years without interference from the Romans. During that period, Octavian defeated Antony, Cleopatra committed suicide, and Octavian was busy reorganizing the Roman Empire. In 21-20 B.C., his armies advanced against Parthia and brought the Parthian king, Phraates to terms. The Roman general Tiberius then entered Armenia, caused the assassination of Artaxias and placed Tigranes III, whom he had brought with him from Rome, on the throne of Armenia.

Octavian expected the Rome educated Tigranes to be a pliant client-ally, and it appeared that during the first part of his reign, Tigranes was pro-Roman, issuing coins in the Roman style, with vertical or horizontal legends. The Romans who had conquered and plundered Asia Minor were pursuing an expansionist policy against Armenia and Parthia. Tigranes was well aware of the fact that the Armenians and Parthians shared a mutual interest in resisting Rome. It was perhaps with this in mind that he issued coins similar to the Parthian coinage with a square legend.

Armenia was still a powerful state, and when Tigranes III died, the Armenian princes placed his son on the throne in defiance of

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5 David Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia* (London, 1980).

6 J. G. C. Anderson, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X (1966), pp. 239-282.

Rome which demanded the right to approve Armenia's choice of a new king.[7]

ՏԻԳՐԱՆ Գ-Ի ԱՆՏԻՊ ԴՐԱՄ ՄԸ (20-8 Ն.Ք.)

[*Ամփոփում*]

Վերջերս աճուրդային վաճառքի մը ընթացքին՝ հեղինակը գնեց Տիգրան Գ-ի պղինձ մը, որու ծանրութիւնն է 5.33 *կրամ, այսինքն* 4 *քաղկոս։ Ակողմին վրայ պատկերուած է երիտասարդ թագաւոր մը, որուն խոյրը զարդարուած է տասնատամեայ աստղով մը։ Բեկողմին վրայ քանդակուած է ձի մը դէպի ձախ, առջեւի ոտքը վերցուցած և յունատառ խորագրութիւնը, որ կը կարդացուի դէպի աջ ու վար՝* ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC· *դէպի ձախ ու վար՝* ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ· *և ձիուն վրայ ու դէպի աջ՝* ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ, *գրուած՝ երեք կողմերուն վրայ։ Կ'երևի թէ խնդրոյ առարկայ դրամը կը ներկայացնէ փոխանցման ժամանակաշրջան մը, երբ Տիգրան Գ որդեգրեց Պարթևաստանի կողմնակից քաղաքականութիւն մը և ալ կոխեց իր դրամները նման պարթևներուն։*

[7] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. XIII (1987), No. 2, pp. 11-13, pl. I.

ԱՐՏԱՇԷՍԵԱՆ ՀԱՐՍՏՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԴՐԱՄՆԵՐԸ

(*Տախտակ* 4-5)

Արտաշէսեան հարստութիւնը, որ տեւեց երկու դար (189 *Ք.Ա.*–6 *Ք.Ե.*), *կը ներկայացնէ փառաւոր շրջան մը հայ ժողովուրդի պատմութեան մէջ։ Այս ժամանակամիջոցին էր որ պատմական Հայաստանի հողամասին մէջ բնակող զանազան ժողովուրդները միացան եւ հիմնեցին հայ ազգը իր ինքնայատուկ լեզուով եւ քաղաքակրթութեամբ։*

Այս շրջանին էր որ հելլենականութիւնը մուտք գործեց Հայաստանի մէջ եւ հայ ժողովուրդը մշակոյթով՝ դէպի Արեւմուտք։ Երբ Մեծն Տիգրան գրաւեց Անտիոքը եւ ուրիշ հողամասեր, ան Հայաստան փոխադրեց բազմաթիւ յոյն արուեստագէտներ եւ արհեստագէտներ, եւ այսպէսով զարկ տուաւ հայ ժողովուրդին քաղաքակրթութեան։

Քրիստոսէ երկու դար առաջ, յունական քաղաքակրթութիւնը կը տիրէր Մերձաւոր Արեւելքի մէջ։ Այս պատճառով, դրամները, ըլլա՛յ սելեւկեան—պարթեւական կամ եգիպտական, ունէին յունական գրութիւն։

Զարմանալի չէ որ արտաշէսեան դրամներն ալ կը կրեն յունական լեզուն։ Նկատի պէտք է առնել նաեւ որ հայ գիրերու գիւտը տեղի ունեցաւ քանի մը դար յետոյ։

Արտաշէսեան դրամները շատ քիչ ուսումնասիրուած էին անցեալի մէջ։ Գլխաւոր պատճառը այն էր, որ Տիգրանի դրամներէն զատ՝ շատ քիչ նիւթ կար ուսումնասիրութեան համար։ Վերջին քառասուն տարուայ ընթացքին, մեծաթիւ դրամներ մէջտեղ ելած են եւ այսօր արտաշէսեան դրամներու թիւը զանազան հաւաքածոներու մէջ կ'անցի երկու հազարը։ Վերջերս Բրիտանական Դրամագիտական Ընկերակցութիւնը տպեց հեղինակիս աշխատութիւնը, նուիրուած Արտաշէսեան հարստութեան դրամներու[1]*։ Այս գործի հայերէն թարգմանութիւնը տպուեցաւ Վիեննայի Մխիթարեաններու կողմէ*[2]*։*

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[1] Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia* (London, 1978).

[2] *Զարեհ Պտուկեան, Արտաշէսեան հարստութեան դրամները* (*Վիեննա*, 1983)։

Արտաշէսեան դրամները ինքնայատուկ արուեստ մը ունին և շատ դիւրութեամբ կը զանազանուին միւս ազգերու դրամներէն։ Այսպէս, Մեծն Տիգրանի դրամներուն վրայ կը տեսնուի հայկական ժանեկաւոր խոյրը (tiara), *որ զարդարուած է աստղով մը որ կը տեսնուի երկու արծիւներու միջև։ Արծիւները կռնակ կռնակի դարձած են. բայց իրարու կը նային։ Այս աստղը կը տեսնուի բոլոր արտաշէսեան դրամներու վրայ, հոգ չէ թէ ոճը* (style) *կրած է որոշ փոփոխումներ ժամանակի ընթացքին։ Օրինակի համար, Տիգրան Գ–ի դրամներուն վրայ աստղը կը տեսնուի առանց արծիւներուն, բայց հայկական խոյրը հոն է վստահօրէն։ Տիգրան Մեծի Դամասկոսի մէջ կոխած դրամներուն վրայ կը տեսնուի աստղը մէկ արծիւով։ Երբեմն աստղը ունի պոչ մը, ասուպի նման. բայց հայկական խոյրը միշտ ներկայ է։*

Ներկայիս, բարեբախտաբար կրնանք դասաւորել արտաշէսեան դրամները ժամանակագրական կարգով։ Զարմանալի է որ չունինք դրամներ առաջին երեք գահակալներէն։ Թերևս ապագային գտնուին դրամներ Զարեհ Ա–էն (*Ք.Ա.* 189), *Արտաշէս Ա–էն* (*Ք.Ա.* 189-160), *և Արտաւազդ Ա–էն* (*Ք.Ա.* 160-123)։ *Կան հազուագիւտ դրամներ Տիգրան Ա–էն* (*Ք.Ա.* 123-96)։

Հասկնալի է որ Մեծն Տիգրան Բ (*Ք.Ա.* 94-54), *ըլլալով զօրաւոր թագաւոր մը և տիրելով աւելի քան քառասուն տարի, հատանած է բազմաթիւ դրամներ։ Նկատի պէտք է առնել նաև որ ան խլեց* «Թագաւոր թագաւորաց» *տիտղոսը պարթևներէն և յաջողեցաւ ընդարձակել Հայաստանի սահմանները, հաստատելով ընդարձակ կայսրութիւն մը։ Ներկայիս ծանօթ արտաշէսեան դրամներուն կէսէն աւելին կը պատկանին Մեծն Տիգրանին։*

Հետևեալ արտաշէսեան դրամներու հաւաքածոն նուիրուած է Երուսաղէմի Պատրիարքարանի Թանգարանին.–

ՄԵԾՆ ՏԻԳՐԱՆ (*Ք.Ա.* 94-54)

1.– *Չորեքդրամ* (Tetradrachm). *Արծաթ, Պտ. թիւ* 21։

Ակողմ – Տիգրանի կիսանդրին աջ դարձած, հայկական ժանիքաւոր խոյրով և արքայական ապարօշով։ Խոյրին վրայ կան կանգնած երկու արծիւներ, կռնակ կռնակի, որ իրարու կը նային։ Մէջտեղնին կը տեսնուի ութնաստամեայ աստղ մը։

Բեկորմ – Անտիոքի Բախտը, աջ, նստած ժայռի մը վրայ: Ձեռքն ունի արմաւենիի ճիւղ մը և ոտքին տակ կը տեսնուի Որոնդէս գետին ոգիին կիսանդրին, որ բազկատարած՝ աջ կը լողայ:

Գրութիւնը աջ, վերէն վար՝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

ձախ, վերէն վար՝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ

Պտուկեան թիւ 21, *դաշտի նշան:*

2.– *Թիւ* 1*ի նման: Պտուկեան թիւ* 19:

Դաշտի նշան:

Կշիռ՝ 15.04 *կրամ:*

3.– Դրամ (Drachm)*. Արծաթ, Տիպ թիւ* 1*ի նման:*

Պտուկեան թիւ 83:

Բեկորմի գրութիւնը աջ, վերէն վար՝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

ձախ, վերէն վար՝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ

4.– **Չորս Քաղկոս** (Four chalci)*. Պղինձ, Տիպ թիւ* 1*ի նման:*

Պտուկեան թիւ 93–94*. գրութիւնը թիւ* 3*ի նման:*

Դաշտի նշան Ρ *և* Α:

5.– *Թիւ* 4*ի նման: Դաշտի նշանը անորոշ:*

6.– Երկու քաղկոս (Two chalci)*. Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ* 99:

Ակոդմ – Թիւ 4*ի նման:*

Բեկորմ – Մօրուսաւոր մերկ վահագնը (Heracles), *կանգնած ձախ: Աջ բազուկին վրայ առիւծի մը մորթ և ձախ ձեռքը յենած ցուպի մը վրայ:*

Գրութիւնը թիւ 3*ի նման: Դաշտի նշան* Ρ *և* Α:

Կշիռ՝ 5.1 *կրամ:*

7.– Մէկ քաղկոս (One chalcus)*.*

Թիւ 6*ի նման: Պտ. թիւ* 103:

8.– Մէկ քաղկոս (One chalcus)*. Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ* 105:

Ակոդմ – Թիւ 4*ի նման:*

Բեկորմ – Ամաթեղջիւրը ձախ: Դաշտին մէջ աջին Η *և ձախին* Δ *գիրերը: Գրութիւնը թիւ* 3*ի պէս:*

Կշիռ՝ 2.51 *կրամ:*

9.- Կէս քաղկոս (Half chalcus). *Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ* 107.
Ակողմ – Թիւ 4ի նման:
Բեկողմ – Ցորենի հասկ: Գրութիւնը թիւ 3ի պէս:

10.- Մէկ քաղկոս (One chalcus). *Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ* 104.
Ակողմ և Բեկողմ՝ թիւ 8ի պէս:

11.- Չորս քաղկոս (Foure chalci). *Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ* 114.
Ակողմ – Խոյրին սաղը կը նմանի սաուպի: Չկան երկու արծիւներ:
Բեկողմ – Յաղթանակը (Nike) *կը քալէ ձախ: Երկարած ձախ ձեռքով բռնած է դափնեպսակ մը: Գրութիւնը թիւ 1ի նման: Դաշտի նշան, բախտին տակը* ΔΗΜ *գիրերը:*
Կշիռ՝ 5.30 *կրամ:*

12.- Չորս քաղկոս (Foure chalci). *Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ* 117.
Ակողմ – Թիւ 1ի նման:
Բեկողմ – Թիւ 11ի նման: Դաշտին գիրերը ΛΜ:
Կշիռ՝ 5.30 *կրամ:*

13.- Թիւ 12ի տարբերակը:

14.- Թիւ 12ի տարբերակը: *Ակողմ դաշտին մէջ* A *գիրը: Պտ. թիւ* 119:
Կշիռ՝ 6.79 *կրամ:*

15.- Երկու քաղկոս (Two chalci). *Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ* 120.
Ակողմ – Տիգրանի կիսանդրին, գեղեցկադէմ, և խոյրը չորս ժանիքով: Աստղի տեղ կան երկու խաչեր 45 աստիճանով. Դաշտին ձախ կողմը A *գիրը:*
Բեկողմ – Աջին դէպի վար՝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ձախէն վերէն վար՝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ

16.- Մէկ քաղկոս (One chalcus). *Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ* 122.
Ակողմ – Աստուպի նման սաղ, թէ 11ի նման:
Բեկողմ – Եռոտանի մը, որուն վրայի սափորէն կը բարձրանան սարդենիի ճիւղեր: Գրութիւնը թիւ 15ի նման:

17.- Երկու քաղկոս (Two chalci). *Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ* 121.
Ակողմ – Նախորդներուն նման:

Բեկոդմ – Արմաւենիի ճիւղ մը ձախ յենած: Գրութիւնը թիւ 15ի նման:

ԱՐՏԱՒԱԶԴ Բ (Ք.Ա. 56-34)

18.- Չորս քաղկոս (Foure chalci). Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ 132.

Ակոդմ – Արտաւազդի կիսանդրին աջ, հայկական խոյրով թիւ 1ի պէս:

Բեկոդմ – Յաղթանակը կը քալէ ձախ, երկարած աջ ձեռքին մէջ դափնի մը և ձախ ձեռքը յենած կոնքին վրայ:

Գրութիւնը աջ, դէպի վար՝ BACIΛEΩC

ձախ, դէպի վար՝ BACIΛEΩN/APTAYAZΔOY

Այս դրամը կոխուած է օտարազգի պղինձի մը վրայ:

ԱՐՏԱՇԷՍ Բ (Ք.Ա. 30-20)

19.- Երկու քաղկոս (Two chalci). Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ 136.

Ակոդմ – Արտաշէսի կիսանդրին աջ: Բարձր խոյր մը, մէկ աստղով (?):

Բեկոդմ – Յաղթանակը կանգնած աջ, ձախ ձեռքին մէջ դափնի մը:

Գրութիւնը կլորակ ձախէն աջ՝ BACIΛEΩOC MEΓ ...

ՏԻԳՐԱՆ Գ (Ք.Ա. 20-8)

20.- Երկու քաղկոս (Two chalci). Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ 144.

Ակոդմ – Թագաւորի կիսանդրին աջ, բարձր խոյրով: Վեց ժանիքով աստղ:

Բեկոդմ – Ձի մը ձախ, առջևի ոտքը բարձրացուցած:

Գրութիւնը քառակուսի: Վերը աջ՝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, աջին, վար՝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ: Վարը, ձախ, վերուվար դարձած՝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ, ձախին, դէպի վեր՝ ΘΕΟΥ:

ՏԻԳՐԱՆ Դ (Ք.Ա. 8-5)

21.- Մէկ քաղկոս (One chalcus). Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ 157.

Ակոդմ – Տիգրանի կիսանդրին աջ, բարձր խոյրով և վեց ժանիքով մեծ աստղով:

Բեկոյմ – Ծառ կամ ծառի ճիւղ մը։

Գրութիւնը, աջին դէպի վար՝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ։ *Ձախին դէպի վար՝* ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ։

Կշիռ՝ 2.53 *կրամ։*

ԱՐՏԱՒԱԶԴ Գ (*Ք.Ա.* 5-2)

22.- *Երկու քաղկոս* (Two chalci). *Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ* 160.

Ակոյմ – Արտաւազդի կիսանդրին աջ, բարձր խոյրով և հինգ ժանիքով սաղով։

Բեկոյմ – Անձ մը կանգնած ձախ, աջ ձեռքով բռնած նիզակ մը և ձախ ձեռքը վահանի յենած։

Գրութիւնը, աջէն դէպի վար՝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ։ *Ձախին դէպի վար՝* ΑΡΤΑΥΑΖΔΟΥ։

ՏԻԳՐԱՆ Դ ԵՒ ԵՐԱՏՈ (*Ք.Ա.* 2 – *Ք.Ե.* 1)

23.- *Չորս քաղկոս* (Four chalci). *Պղինձ, Պտ. թիւ* 161։

Ակոյմ – Մօրուսաւոր Տիգրան աջ դարձած։ Աջին կը տեսնուի Երատո թագուհիին գլուխը՝ աջ դարձած։

Բեկոյմ – Բախտը նստած ձախ՝ գահի մը վրայ, ձախ ձեռքով բռնած ամաթեղջիւր մը և աջով նիզակ մը։

Գրութիւնը, աջին դէպի վար՝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ։ *Ձախին՝ դէպի վար՝* ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ։ *Գահին տակը՝ վերէն վար՝* ΤΕΚ[3]։

COINS OF THE ARTAXIADS OF ARMENIA

(Plates 4-5)

A detailed catalogue of a fine collection of 23 Artaxiad Armenian coins donated by the author to the Museum of the Armenian Patrtiarchate in Jerusalem.

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[3] *Նախնական հրատարակութեան համար տե՛ս Սիոն, հատոր ԿԲ. (Յունուար-Մարտ* 1988), *թիւ* 1-3, *էջ* 41-46։

ԱՐՏԱՇԷՍԵԱՆ ՀԱՐՍՏՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐՆԵՐՈՒ ՏՈՀՄԱԾԱՌԸ

ԶԱՐԵՀ Ք · Ա · 189էն առաջ

(Արտաշէս Ա·ի արամերէն արձանագրութեան մէջ յիշուած, բայց ոչ իբր թագաւոր)

ԱՐՏԱՇԷՍ Ա · Ք · Ա · 189—160

(Նախ Անտիոքոս Գ·ի Կառավարիչը, եւ յետոյ թագաւոր)

ԱՐՏԱՒԱԶԴ Ա · Ք · Ա · 160—123 — ՏԻԳՐԱՆ Ա · Ք · Ա · 123—96

ՏԻԳՐԱՆ Բ · ՄԵԾՆ Ք · Ա · 95—56

(Ամուսնացած Պոնտոսի Միհրդատ թագաւորի աղջկան հետ· եւ յետոյ՝ ԶՈՍԻՄԷի հետ)

ԱՐՏԱՒԱԶԴ Բ · Ք · Ա · 56—34

(Սպանուած Կղէոպատրայի կողմէ 30ին Ք · Ա ·)

ԱՐՏԱՇԷՍ Բ · Ք · Ա · 30—20

ՏԻԳՐԱՆ Գ · Ք · Ա · 20—8/6

ԱՐՏԱՒԱԶԴ Գ · Ք · Ա · 5—2

ՏԻԳՐԱՆ Դ ·
Ք · Ա · 8—5 եւ յետոյ Ք · Ա · 2—1 Ք · Ե ·

ԷՐԱՏՕ թագուհի
Տիգրան Դ·ի հետ, յետոյ թագուհի

ՏԻԳՐԱՆ Ե · Ք · Ե · 6ին

ԱՂԵՔՍԱՆԴՐ Ք · Ա · 34—30, (Անտոնիոսի եւ Կղէոպատրայի որդին ·)

ԱՐԻՈԲԱՐԶԱՆԷՍ Ք · Ե · 2—4 (Ատրպատականի թագաւոր)

ԱՐՏԱՒԱԶԴ Դ · Ք · Ե · 4—6, որդի Արիոբարզանէսի ։

COINAGE OF ROUPEN I (1080-1095)

(The First Ruler of Cilician Armenia)

(Plate 6)

The recent discovery of a small hoard of copper coins, plus a half-dozen other pieces which had previously come to the writer's attention, prompted an investigation to determine their attribution. The additional pieces made it possible to read the legends with a reasonable degree of accuracy and the coins could now be assigned to the first prince of Cilician Armenia, Roupen I.

Heretofore, in the corpus of the *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*,[1] similar coins had been tentatively attributed to Prince Gosdantin I (1095-1099), the son and successor of Roupen I (1080-1095). Because of the poor condition of the few known specimens, the legends could not be deciphered.

The only problem that still remains is the interpretation of the legend on the reverse of a second type of coin. Hopefully, if other specimens of the latter coin come to light, the situation will be resolved.

A brief review of the history of the period will prove helpful in understanding the conditions which led to the issuance of the coins in question.

In 1045, the Byzantines captured the capital city of Ani and forced its king, Gagik II, to abdicate and move westward with his supporters to the district of Sebastia, well within the boundaries of the empire. In 1076, Gagik's son was murdered by the Byzantines and as a result, one of his noblemen, Roupen, sought sanctuary with fifty of his followers in the domain of Philaretus, an Armenian in the ser-

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[1] Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962); Armenian translation (Vienna, 1963).

vice of the emperor. By 1081, we find Roupen firmly established in Goromozol, in the fastness of the Taurus Mountains.[2]

In the meantime, the Near East was in turmoil with the advent of Turkish tribes from Central Asia. The advancing Asiatic tribes defeated the Byzantine forces in the battle of Manzikert (1071) and began occupying large areas of Asia Minor. The Byzantine policy of displacing Armenian rulers from their ancestral lands and settling them in other parts of the empire proved costly to them. Without the hardy Armenian mountaineers, the Byzantines could not withstand the invading troops.

After the battle of Manzikert, many Armenian princes continued to rule over their territories as vassals of the Byzantine emperor, and of necessity, became members of the Greek Orthodox Church. Oshin governed Lampron; Abelgharib, Tarsus; Gabriel, Melitene; Toros, Marash. Among the more powerful rulers was Philaretus, who controlled much of mountainous Cilicia and had been a general of the Byzantine emperor, Romanus Diogenes.[3]

For his part, Roupen succeeded in capturing the fortress of Goromozol, wrested several other forts from the Byzantines, including the important fortress of Partzrpert, and eventually became the founder of the Roupenian dynasty. Unlike the aforementioned governors, Roupen belonged to the Armenian national church and owed no allegiance to the Byzantines. Naturally, Armenians recognized Roupen as one of their own and accepted him as their leader.

Roupen may have felt confident enough to begin a coinage in his own name. As it turned out, his descendents ruled over Cilicia for the next three centuries and struck large numbers of coins.

The coins which the author has studied are crude in appearance, apparently all bear the name of Roupen, and the legends are common letters instead of being in capital form as on the coins of later kings. Furthermore, the letters are generally not uniform and contain foreign characters, perhaps indicating that the die-maker was not familiar with the Armenian alphabet. All this is understandable

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[2] Yervant H. Kassouny, *Roupen I and the Foundation of the Rupenid Dynasty* (Beirut, 1972), (in Armenian with English summary).

[3] S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades,* Vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1951), p. 73.

since Roupen I had limited resources and controlled but a few forts and villages.

Roupen II ruled a hundred years later (1175-1187). The coins under discussion here cannot belong to him since by that time the art of coinage in Cilician Armenia had developed considerably and the coins of the period were more refined and artistic, both in style and lettering.

LITERATURE SEARCH ON THE COINAGE ISSUED BY THE PRINCES OF CILICIAN ARMENIA

Father Alishan in his monumental work, *Sissouan*, published in 1885, devoted several pages to the coinage of the Roupenians. Among the coins of the princes, he mentions some struck by Toros, and another contemporary coin from an unrecognized prince.[4] He also describes a copper coin belonging to Prince Levon II.

Victor Langlois in his *Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge* does not mention any coins struck by Cilician princes.[5]

The classic work of Father Sibilian on the coinage of the Roupenians published in 1892 deals only with the royal coinage of Cilician Armenia.[6]

Basmadjian's book on the coinage of Armenia lists the same coins which were discussed in *Sissouan*.[7]

In his 1962 volume on Roupenian coins,[8] published by the American Numismatic Society, Bedoukian lists coins of Toros I, coins of two unknown princes, and ten coppers of Prince Levon II found in various collections.

In the revised edition of the book, published in 1979, Bedoukian

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[4] Fr. Ghewond Alishan, *Sissouan* (Venice, 1885) (in Armenian); French edition (Venice, 1899).

[5] Victor Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1855).

[6] Fr. Clement Sibilian, *Classification of Roupenian Coins* (Vienna, 1892) (in Armenian).

[7] K. J. Basmadjian, *Numismatique générale de l'Arménie* (Venice, 1936) (in Armenian).

[8] See above, note 1.

mentions the coins listed above and additional specimens attributed to other princes.[9] The latter have been discussed in an earlier article.[10]

It is thus seen that because of the paucity of specimens, little was known about the coinage of the baronial period of Cilician Armenia. Obviously, the number of copper coins struck during this period was limited, and very few pieces have survived.

Also, perhaps not much attention was given to the surviving coins because they were not silver and were unattractive. In addition, it should be recalled that when the *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*[11] was published in 1962, some 10,000 coins were known. Once this volume passed into the hands of dealers and collectors, many new specimens were brought to light so that today the number of known Roupenian coins is over 100,000.

Hopefully, hoards of coins from other Roupenian princes will surface and will make it possible to complete the structure of the coinage of the Roupenian princes.

It must have taken Roupen I some time to establish a mint for striking coins, so that he had but a few years to issue his coppers. Since his main stronghold was the castle of Vahka in the Taurus Mountains, the mint could have been located there. The mintmaster or die-maker could have been foreigners because some of the legends seem to contain a few Latin characters.

Roupen I apparently struck two types of coins. In order to present a convincing reading of the legends, the latter are shown as found on a number of specimens. The correct interpretation is given at the head of each table.

After the rule of Roupen I, seven other princes governed Cilician Armenia before a monarchy was established. As of this writing, no coins have appeared which can be attributed to Roupen's successor, Gosdantin I (1095-1099). Several coins of Toros I (1099-1129) and

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[9] Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (revised edition, Danbury, Connecticut, 1979).

[10] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "Coins of the Baronial Period of Cilician Armenia," American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes*, Vol. XII (1966), pp. 139-145, pl. XLI; also in SNS [I], pp. 95-102.

[11] See above, note 1.

Toros II (1145-1169) have been found in various collections.[12] It is strange that there is no record of coinage belonging to Levon I (1129-1137) and Mleh (1170-1175). Some coins have been attributed to Roupen II (1175-1187) and over a dozen pieces have been assigned to Prince Levon II (1187-1198). The latter became the first crowned king (Levon I) of Cilician Armenia in 1198.[13]

Legends of Roupen I coins: ՌՈՒԲԷՆ ԾԱՌԱ(Յ) Ա(ՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ) Է

JS-3	+ ///աՒԲԷՆ		///	Ծառա	////	////
JS-4	+ Ռա ||ԲՒ//		///	Ծառա	////	////
PB-8	+ ՌԱ///////		///	/////////	ա	Է
PB-4	+ ///////////		////	//////ա	ա	/
JG-1	+ ՌաԲԵՆ		////	Ծառա	ա	յ
PB-6	+ Ռաւ |ԲՒ ſՆ	ա	Է	ՆԱ/Կա///Է	ա	Է
PB-7	+ Ռա ||ԲՒ |Ն	////	////	ՆԱ/Կ//////	ա	Է
WM-	+ /////////// ſՆ	ա	Բ	Նա//ԿաՍ//	////	////
JS-2	+ /////////ԲՒՆ	ա	Բ	Ն/////////աՒ///	////	Լ
JS-9	+ ////////ԲՒ ſՆ	ա	Բ	//////Կա////	////	////

Abbreviations: JS—John Slocum collection
PB—Paul Bedoukian collection
JG—John Guevrekian collection

Additional Literature

H. Der Ghazarian, *Armenian Cilicia* (Antelias, Lebanon, 1966), in Armenian).

D. M. Lang, *Armenia, Cradle of Civilization* (London, 1970).

B. Sabbaghian, *Numismatic Inquiries* (Beirut, 1986) (in Armenian).

Catholicos Karekin I, *Colophons of Manuscripts* (Antelias, 1951) (in Armenian).

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[12] Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (revised edition, (Danbury, Connecticut), 1979, p. 129.

[13] Originally published in *Handes Amsorya*, Vol. CV (1991), pp. 123-126.

ՌՈՒԲԷՆ Ա-Ի (1080-1095) ԴՐԱՄՆԵՐԸ

[*Ամփոփում*]

Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի առաջին իշխանը՝ Ռուբէն Ա (1080-1095), *Սեբաստիոյ Գագիկ Բ Թագաւորին մահէն* (1076) *յետոյ, իր հետեւորդներով եկաւ Կիլիկիա և հաստատեց Ռուբինեան իշխանութիւնը Կիլիկիոյ լեռներուն մէջ։ Արդէն քանի մը հայ իշխաններ հաստատուած էին Կիլիկիոյ զանազան շրջաններուն մէջ իբր Բիւզանդական կայսրութեան պաշտօնեաներ։*

Հայ ժողովուրդը նախընտրեց հետևիլ Ռուբէնին, որովհետև ան անկախ էր Բիւզանդիոնէն։ Ռուբէն յաջողեցաւ հաստատել հայ հարստութիւն մը Կիլիկիոյ մէջ որ տևեց ամբողջ երեք դար։

Ըլլալով անկախ իշխան մը, Ռուբէն կոխեց կարգ մը հայատառ պղինձ դրամներ։ Այս դրամներուն որուն պատկանիլը մինչև հիմա յայտնի չէր պատմագէտներու և դրամագէտներու։

Այս յօդուածը կը ներկայացնէ երկու տեսակ հայատառ պղինձ դրամներ որ կը ներկայացնեն առաջին փորձերը Կիլիկեան շրջանի փառաւոր հայ դրամահատութեան։

A RARE COPPER COIN OF BARON ROUPEN II (1175-1187) OF CILICIAN ARMENIA

(Plate 6)

The coinage of Cilician Armenia has been the subject of many studies in the past forty years, as evidenced by the number of publications.[1]

In the revised edition of the author's book,[2] 2249 varieties of coins of this period were listed. Only four types, however, were assigned to the four Armenian barons who ruled over Cilician Armenia during the early period of the Roupenian dynasty (1080-1193). Twenty-five baronial specimens were mentioned in the text, of which ten belonged to Levon II. Levon became the first king of Cilician Armenia in 1198, and as King Levon I, he issued a range of coins in gold, silver, and copper.

The paucity of specimens from the period of the barons can be attributed to the fact that the struggling mountain rulers had limited means of issuing coins, and that the survival rate of the coinage was very low because the pieces were all struck in copper.

In an article published in the *Museum Notes* of the American Numismatic Society, a full account of the existing baronial coins has been given.[3]

A recording was made of all the specimens known to be in

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[1] Y. T. Nercessian, *Armenian Numismatic Bibliography and Literature* (Los Angeles, 1984), pp. 381-466, Nos. 823-972.

[2] P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962; revised edition, Danbury, Connecticut, 1979; Armenian edition, Vienna, 1963).

[3] P. Z. Bedoukian, "Coins of the Baronial Period of Cilician Armenia (1080-1198)," American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes*, Vol. XII (1966), pp. 139-145; also in SNS [I], pp. 95-101.

European museums and in private collections, but because of the extremely poor conditions of the coins, a full and accurate reading of the legends could not be made and does not appear in the literature.

To this list must be added two specimens of No. 2, formerly in Mme. Kapamadji's collection in Paris, an example of No. 2a in the Moscow Historical Museum. Several other coppers of Baron Levon II have surfaced recently in sales catalogues, but their present whereabouts are unknown. Several other specimens are in the collections of the members of the Armenian Numismatic Society.

In the author's *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* published in 1979, three copper coins of Roupen II are listed, two of which are illustrated. These coins are similar to the one being discussed in this article. They are entirely different in style from the coins issued by the earlier barons of Armenia.

The better condition of the present specimen makes it clear that previous interpretations of the obverse were incorrect. A more convincing legend is being offered, at this time.

Alishan,[4] in his monumental work, *Sissouan*, presented a drawing of a coin of this type with the obverse legend: ԾՆՈՐՀԱԻՔՆ ԱՅ Է. His illustration, however, showed only the first letters, the balance being illegible. In surmising the legend, Alishan added a letter which is absent from our specimen. Moreover, he made no attempt to read the partially visible legend on the reverse (see Fig. 1).

Basmadjian,[5] in his well-known treatise on the *Numismatique générale de l'Arménie* copied Alishan's illustrations, and by combining the visible obverse and reverse legends, arrived at a reading now unacceptable to this author.

The beginning and ending of the obverse legend of our coin are clearly legible. Combining the legible letters of published specimens with those on the coin under discussion, the obverse reading of the legend is: ԾՆ[ՈՐՀԱԻՔ]Ն ԱՅ+.

Of course, should other specimens turn up with a complete legend, this interpretation too, may have to be modified.

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[4] Fr. Ghewond Alishan, *Sissouan* (Venice, 1885) (in Armenian).

[5] K. J. Basmadjian, *Numismatique générale de l'Arménie* (Venice, 1936), p. 138 (in Armenian).

Coin No.	Ruler	Location	Wt (g.)
1, 2, 3, 4.	Roupen I (1080-1095)[6]	3 in writer's collection	3.43
		(1, 2, 4)	2.40
			2.24
		1 in Guevrekian coll. (3)	3.64
		1 in Mekhitarist Museum,Vienna	
	Gosdantin I (1095-1099)	No known specimens	
5, 6.	Toros I (1099-1121)	1 in writer's collection	0.75
		1 in Mekhitarist Museum,Vienna	
	Levon I (1129-1137)	No known specimens	
7, 8.	Toros II (1145-1169)	2 in writer's collection	1.25
			1.30
	Mleh (1170-1175)	No known specimens	
9.	Roupen II (1175-1187	1 in Mekhitarist Museum,Venice	
10.	Levon II (1187-1198)	14 known specimens	
		2 in writer's collection	2.65
			2.60
		2 in Mekhitarist Museum,Vienna	
		1 in Mekhitarist Museum,Venice	
		2 in A. Donabedian coll., Beirut	
		1 in Mardikian Museum, Beirut	
		1 in Nubarian Library, Paris	
		2 in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	
		1 in State Museum, Erevan	
		1 in J. Guevrekian coll., New York	3.70
		1 in H. Der Ghazarian coll. (lost)	

Interpretation on the basis of the characters which can be deciphered:

Obv.: Castle [ՌՈՒԲ]ԷՆ ՈՐ[ԴԻ] [ՍՏ]ԵՓԱՆԷԻ (Roupen, son of Stephen).

Rev.: Cross [ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ]Ն ԱՅ Է (by the power of God).

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[6] P. Z. Bedoukian, "Coinage of Roupen I (1080-1095) (The First Ruler of Cilician Armenia)," *Handes Amsorya*, Vol. CV (1991), pp. 123-126.

Admittedly, much of this interpretation is conjecture, but the obverse legend appears on the coinage of Roupen's successor (his brother, Levon II), and the reverse legend occurs on numerous coins issued at a later date.

Roupen II retired to a monastery in 1187. Levon II was perhaps the most capable and ambitious of all the Roupenian barons. The Armenians were now masters of Cilicia and during the Third Crusade were in a position to assist the Crusaders in their wars against the Saracens. Levon's goal to establish a kingdom was finally achieved when he was crowned Levon I in Tarsus on January 6, 1198. The coronation took place in the presence of the head of the Armenian Church.

It should be noted that in the period that Baron Roupen II ruled (A.D. 1175-1187), the Crusader princes in the Near East were also striking coins. There is some relationship in style between the Armenian coins and the Crusader coins. They both share a common feature—the presence of a castle gate or a tower on the reverse.[7]

The three Crusader kings of Jerusalem, Baldwin I (1118-1131), Baldwin II (1142-1162), and Baldwin III (1173-1185) struck copper coins showing a fortified tower or a squarish gate. Very similar designs are seen on the coins of Reynald of Sidon (circa 1187) and John of Ibelin (1160-1236) of Beirut. The castle gate is also found on some of the coins of Tripoli at a later date. Guy de Lusignan (1186-1192), the successor of Baldwin III, struck coins showing the cupola of a temple on the reverse.[8]

The coins of Roupen II (1175-1187) depict a cupola or a domed roof (see Fig. 2); a variation of this design appears on the coins of Guy de Lusignan whose rule began just before Roupen's death.

The specimen under discussion weighs 1.45 grams, but has a piece broken off. The complete coin would probably weigh about 1.60 grams. The obverse-reverse relationship is 90 degrees counterclockwise.

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[7] R. Pesant, "Comments on a Rare Coin of Roupen II (1175-1187)," ANJ, Vol. XV (1989), pp. 67-72.

[8] G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1895).

The reverse of the coin shows a cross pattée with rays or lines in all four quarters. There is a close relationship in the design to the coins of the contemporary Baldwins of Jerusalem and John of Ibelin of Beirut. The legend is again incomplete, but the five letters on the reverse are visible and confirm the following reading: [ԿԱՐՈ-ՂՈՒԹ]ԲՆ ԱՅ Է.

In view of the fact that copper coins of Armenian origin were found among early Crusader coins, it is highly probable that both were in circulation at the same time.[9]

ԿԻԼԻԿԵԱՆ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ
ՌՈՒԲԷՆ Բ ԻՇԽԱՆԻ (1175-1187)
ՄԻ ՀԱԶՈՒԱԳԻՒՏ ՊՂՆՁԵԱՅ ԴՐԱՄԸ

[Ամփոփում]

Հ. Ղ. Ալիշան Սիսուանի մէջ տպեց Ռուբէն Բ իշխանի վերագրուած պղնձեայ դրամ մը։ Ալիշան տառ մը աւելցուց դրամի շրջագրութեան վրայ և չփորձեց կարդալ ետևի խորագրութիւնը։ Կ. Բասմաջեան Հայկական ընդհանուր դրամագիտութիւն գիրքին մէջ, վերատպեց Ալիշանի նկարը, աւելցուց բեկողմին նշմարելի տառերը և տպեց իր վերծանումը, զոր այս հեղինակին ընդունելի չէ։

Խորագրութեան վերծանումը ըստ դրամին վրայի տառերուն.

Ակողմ. Բերդ [ՌՈՒԲ]ԷՆ ՈՐ[ԴԻ] [ՍՏ]ԵՓԱՆԷԻ:

Բեկողմ. Խաչ [ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲ]Ն ԱՅ Է:

Թերևս այս վերծանումն ալ կրնայ ենթադրութիւն նկատուիլ։ Բայց ակողմի խորագրութիւնը կը նշմարուի իրեն յաջորդող և իր եղբօր Լևոն Բ-ի դրամին վրայ. իսկ բեկողմինը՝ կը նշմարուի աւելի ուշ տպուած բազմաթիւ Կիլիկեան դրամներու վրայ։

[9] Another copper coin having the same design as that of Roupen II under discussion, is in the author's collection (see Fig. 3). The condition of the coin does not allow a reading of the legend but several letters seen are obviously Armenian. This specimen weighs 1.48 grams.

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THE SINGLE LION CORONATION COINS OF LEVON I

(Plate 7)

This article deals with the scarce silver coronation coins of Levon I (1198-1218) of Cilician Armenia, having on the reverse the figure of a single lion with a cross. Two hitherto unpublished hoards of these coins are also discussed.

In my *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* published in 1962,[1] more than 4,000 common silver coins of Levon were reported, among them only 18 specimens of the single lion coronation pieces, 8 of which were part of a hoard. During the next twenty years, about 16,000 more silver coins were discovered. The acquisition of a hoard of 14 single lion coronation pieces by the Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna (in the late 1960s) and of 13 such coins by me a few years ago called for a new study to shed light on the raison d'être of these coins.

An ambitious and resourceful man, Levon cherished a goal to become king of the Armenians. To attain it, he knew he had to receive a crown either from the emperor of Rome or of Byzantium or from the Pope. In effect, he explored all avenues. When the crusading forces of Frederick Barbarossa, the Holy Roman emperor, captured Iconium in Asia Minor and approached Cilicia, reaching Laranda on May 30, 1190,[2] they were greeted by Levon's envoys[3] who promised

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[1] P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962; revised edition, Danbury, Connecticut, 1979; Armenian edition, Vienna, 1963).

[2] Dickran Kouymjian, "The Iconography of the 'Coronation' Trams of King Levon I," ANJ, Vol. IV (1978), pp. 67-74, pls. V-VI.

[3] For a fuller account see K. M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. II (Philadelphia, 1962); E. N. Johnson, "The Crusades of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI," in *ibid.*, pp. 87-122; and S. Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," in *ibid.*, pp. 630-660.

them assistance and provisions. In return, the emperor promised Levon a crown "in writing sealed with a gold seal."[4] A second group of envoys visited the emperor on June 8, 1190, to negotiate the details, but two days later the emperor was drowned while crossing the river Calycadnus. The death of the emperor was a bitter blow to Levon.

Alexius III, the Byzantine emperor, hastened to inform Levon that it would be wiser to accept a crown from him rather than from a far-off Roman emperor.[5] A delegation headed by Nersēs Shnorhali went to Constantinople to arrange terms. Smpad writes that Alexius sent Levon a crown in the year 1196.[6]

In October 1195, Aimery of Cyprus sent a delegation to Gelnhausen to request a crown from the reigning emperor Henry VI, who had succeeded Frederick Barbarossa. Aimery's request for a crown was granted, and he was promised that when Henry reached Cyprus on his way to the Holy Land, an official coronation ceremony would take place. The news reached Aimery probably early in 1196, and it is significant that he assumed the title of king that year, although his official coronation did not take place until October 1197.[7] On learning this, Levon sent his envoys to Henry who was in Apulia in late 1196 or early 1197.[8] Like Aimery, he, too, was promised a crown when Henry reached the Holy Land, and immediately considered himself legally a king, with the right to strike his own coinage.

Levon first struck a series of silver coins in three denominations, all showing a single lion on the reverse: the double trams (weighing 5.5 grams), half double trams (2.8 grams), and the exceedingly rare quarter double trams (1.3 grams). The lion almost always faces left and holds a cross which extends behind him. The obverse of these

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[4] *ibid.*, p. 645. Also *History of the Armenian People*, Vol. III (Erevan, 1976), pp. 687-698 (in Armenian).

[5] *ibid.*, p. 690; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents arméniens*, Vol. I (Paris, 1869), p. 424.

[6] Constable Smpad, *Chronicle* (Venice, 1956), p. 207 (in Armenian).

[7] M. H. Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192-1243," in Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. II, p. 528.

[8] Eracles XXVI, 27; see also Hardwicke, p. 529.

coins is patterned after the design of the German emperor[9] indicating that Levon preferred him to the Byzantine emperor as his liege. All the silver coins of Levon (with the exception of the coronation trams discussed later) display on the obverse the king seated on a royal throne ornamented with lions. He wears a crown, a royal mantle on his shoulders, and is seen holding a cross in his right hand, a fleur-de-lys in his left. In most instances, his feet rest on a footstool.

In addition, Levon began striking coronation trams having a single lion on the reverse. Here the lion is walking right, with a cross behind him.

Soon the armadas carrying the crusading armies of Henry VI sailed for Cyprus and the Holy Land. The entire expedition was headed by Conrad of Hildesheim who was appointed imperial chancellor. Conrad landed in Cyprus in the autumn of 1197 and crowned Aimery as king of Cyprus in Nicosia in September 1197. He hurried to Acre and arrived there on September 22, 1197, instead of sailing to Cilicia.[10] It appears that the Pope had made certain demands on Levon with a view to uniting the Roman and Armenian churches. The Armenian clergy and populace, mindful of their past difficulties with the Greek Church, opposed a union, and Conrad could not give the crown to Levon until the situation was clarified. Anxious to receive the crown, Levon called a meeting of Armenian bishops and convinced them that acceptance of the papal terms would be a mere formality, in no way leading to a union of the two churches. He then sent Archbishop St. John of Sis to Conrad in Acre to inform him that the problem had been resolved. Levon's request for the crown could now be granted, and the Archbishop of Mainz, named Conrad of Mittelsbach, came to Cilicia for the crowning Ceremony.

Levon's actual coronation took place in Tarsus on January 6, 1198. The Catholicos Grigor VI Abirad of Cilicia placed the crown on Levon's head, and Archbishop Conrad gave him the royal scepter.

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[9] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "Origin of the Design of the Coins of Levon I," *Handes Amsorya*, Vol. LXXIV (October-December 1960), Nos. 10-12, pp. 525-534; also in SNS [I], pp. 351-355 (in Armenian).

[10] Der Nersessian, p. 647.

Many notables were present, including the Syrian Jacobite Patriarch, the Greek Metropolitan of Tarsus, delegates from the Caliph, the nobility of Antioch, and, of course, the full complement of Armenian clergy and nobility. Smpad gives a long list of those attending.[11]

Armenian historians repeatedly stress the fact that Levon was crowned with two crowns, one sent by the Byzantine emperor Alexius III, and the other by the Roman emperor Henry VI. Stephen of Ani[12] writes that "Levon ... was honored by the kings of the Greeks and Romans with two crowns and was crowned king of the Armenians in Cilicia." A passage from Nersēs Shnorhali written in 1198[13] states: "In this year the king of the Armenians was greatly honored ... the fame of his bravery moved the great rulers of ancient Rome, Henry, and the new Rome, Alexius, who crowned him with precious jewels in the church of Tarsus, of which I am the unworthy pastor." And according to Michael the Syrian:[14] "His name spread everywhere and the courts of the Greeks and the Latins hastened to crown him. For this purpose they each sent him a royal crown." Numerous other writers attest to the fact that two crowns were used in the coronation.[15]

A year or so elapsed between the time Levon assumed the title of king and his consecration. It was during that period that he probably struck the single lion coronation pieces. Fewer than 2,000 single lion coins are known to exist compared with the 20,000 double lion trams that have been found. It is reasonable to assume that the former were struck in 1197 before he received the two crowns. In all probability, Levon decided in 1198 to issue a new type of coinage commemorating the event. The relatively large number of Levon's coronation silvers having on the reverse a cross between two lions

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[11] Constable Smpad, pp. 208-210.

[12] V. A. Hakobian, *Minor Chronicles of the Thirteenth to Eighteenth Century* (Erevan, 1951), p. 36 (in Armenian).

[13] Catholicos Karekin I, *Colophons of Manuscripts* (Antelias, Lebanon, 1951), p. 538 (in Armenian); see also Der Nersessian, p. 647.

[14] P. Léonce Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique* (Venice, 1888), n. 156.

[15] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "A Large Hoard of Coronation Trams," *Handes Amsorya,* Vol. XC (1976), Nos. 1-12, pp. 409-440; also in SNS [I], pp. 302-317.

rampant regardant are symbolic of his consecration with two crowns. The design is unusual and original and represents a significant contribution to numismatic art. A discussion of the origin of the design is beyond the scope of the present article and the reader is referred to other publications.[16]

If the single lion and double lion trams had been struck simultaneously, then we would expect at least a small number of both types struck with the same obverse die. Yet examination of more than a thousand coronation trams did not turn up a single instance where the same obverse die was used for both single lion and double lion trams. The indication is strong that the two types were struck at different times and that Levon's new exalted status prompted a change in the design of the die.

It is interesting to note the number of silver coins mentioned in important publications on the coinage of Armenia. In one of the earliest treatise on Roupenian coins published in 1839, Brosset[17] described several silver trams of Levon, including a half double tram, but made no mention of a coronation tram. In 1855, Langlois[18] published his well-known work on the coinage of Cilician Armenia in which he mentioned the coronation single lion trams as well as the double lion coronation pieces. Finally, Sibilian[19] the father of Armenian numismatics, wrote a book in Armenian on the coinage of this period. He completed his work in 1877, but it was not published until 1892 by Father Kalemk'iarian who included in the publication the holdings of the Vienna Mekhitatists. The inventory listed 15 double trams, 12 half double trams, 2 single lion coronation trams, and 24 double lion coronation trams. The list also showed 289 double lion trams of Levon.[20]

In the past thirty years, interest in Armenian numismatics has brought to light a large number of Armenian coins, and, incidentally, saved them from being melted into silver bullion. It is esti-

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[16] See above, note 9.

[17] M. Brosset, *Monographie des monnaies arménienne* (St. Petersbourg, 1839).

[18] Victor Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1855).

[19] Fr. Clement Sibilian, *Classification of Roupenian Coins* (Vienna, 1892), written in 1877, but published with extensive additions by Fr. K. Kalemkiarian (in Armenian).

mated that there are now some 50,000 Armenian coins to be found in museums and private collections. Especially noteworthy is the fact that the ratio of single lion coins to double lion pieces has not changed significantly. For instance, by 1962,[21] the number of known double trams had increased to 96 and the half double trams to 134. By 1976, the discovery of a large hoard of about 200 double trams and another hoard of half double trams brought the total to 296 double trams and 176 half double trams.[22] The number of single lion coronation trams, of which only 18 were known in 1962, rose to 45 (roughly trebling the number of single lion pieces). The double lion coronation coins, of which only 133 were mentioned in 1962, rose to more than 1,100 with the discovery of three hoards consisting of 800 pieces[23] and more recently, of two hoards of 180 and 123 pieces.[24]

To summarize, we have:

	1839	1855	1892	1962	1985
Single lion coronation trams	---	2	4	18	45
Double lion coronation trams	---	5	24	133	1,200+
Double trams	---	---	15	96	296+
Half double trams	1	---	12	134	176+
Double lion trams	2	14	289	4,000+	20,000+

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[20] *ibid.*, p. 23.

[21] Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, p. 113.

[22] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "The Double Tram Series of Levon I of Cilician Armenia," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Series, Vol. XVI (1976), pp. 98-108; also in SNS [I], pp. 279-297.

[23] See above, note 15.

[24] I wish to thank J. Guevrekian of New York for making available the aluminum foil impressions of a hoard of 180 coronation trams. I recently acquired a hoard of 123 coronation trams.

All the coronation trams have on the obverse a representation of Christ or the Virgin Mary[25] standing on the left, with hands open and extended upward (Plate 7). The figure has a halo and wears a full-length robe. On the right is the king wearing a crown and kneeling. His hands are extended toward the figure on the left in a pose of supplication. This design appears on both the single lion and double lion coronation trams, but there are differences in the field marks in the space between the two figures. On the single lion types, there is a hand or a three-pronged object that descends from the sky and is either directed toward the king's crown or almost touches the crown. On the double lion coronation trams, we see a variety of field marks,[26] but in all cases, the design descends straight down between the two figures without leaning toward one or the other. Certain issues show the figure of a dove, head downward, often with the letters Յ and Ա, or with just the single letter Յ. Most other issues, however, show a ray of light (in many forms) descending from the sky between the two figures.

Examination of the hoards, small though they may be, reveals some other interesting facts. Of the 45 single lion coronation trams studied, representing the majority of such coins extant, 33 are listed in table 1. The balance either were too worn to be classified or exact photographs or casts were not available. It is seen that 3 obverse types represent 10 die varieties. By contrast, we have 9 reverse types representing 22 die varieties. This ratio of obverse to reverse types is rather unusual since a study of a hoard containing more than 800 double lion coronation pieces revealed 13 obverse and 22 reverse die types, and 41 obverse and 111 reverse die varieties.[27] The discrepancy of the obverse-reverse ratios may be due to the fact that 33 coins forming parts of two or three hoards are not a sufficient basis for die studies and a much larger number may be required for proper statistical conclusions.

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[25] See above, note 2.
[26] See above, note 15.
[27] *ibid.*

Table I. *Coronation coins of Levon I*

Obverse Die	Number of Specimens	Reveverse Die	Number of Specimens	Reverse Link to Obverse Die
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅ Է ԹԱԳՐ		
1	WM (2); PB (1)	1	WM (1)	1
		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ		
2	WM (3); PB (1); OT (2)	2	PB (1): OT (1)	1
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ		
3	WM (2)	3	WM (1)	3
4	WM (4); PB (2); OT (3)	4	OT (1)	5
		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ|		
5	PB (2)	5	WM (3)	2
		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ		
6	OT (1)	6	PB (1)	5
		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ		
7	PB (1)	7	WH (1)	3
		8	PB(1)	7
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈ				
8	PB (4); OT (1)	9	WM (1); PB (2)	8
9	WM (1); OT (1)	10	OT (1)	6
		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ(		
10	WM (1); OT (1)	11	WM (1)	3
		12	OT (1)	8
		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ		
		13	WM (2); PB (2); OT (2)	3
		14	PB (1)	3
		15	OT (1)	9
		16	WM (1)	1
		17	PB (1)	1
		18	OT (1)	3
		19	WM (1)	3
		20	WM (1)	3
		21	WM (1)	10
		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍ		
		22	PB (2)	8

It is obvious that the obverse dies were imbedded in the anvil while the reverse dies were held over the flan and struck with a hammer to obtain the coin. This caused the reverse die to be subjected to much heavier wear; hence, many more reverse dies had to be used for striking coins.

The 22 reverse die varieties, many of which are represented by a single specimen, indicate that single lion coronation trams were struck in some quantity. No detailed studies have been made to arrive at a figure representing the number of coins struck with each die, but calculations on contemporary issues of neighboring countries indicate that each die may have been used for striking 10,000 coins. It is also noteworthy that in obverse dies 2 and 4, and reverse die 13, the same die has been used in striking coins found in WM, PB, and OT groups (see Table 1). This could stand as proof that the number of such coins struck was in the thousands or tens of thousands, as against many millions for the regular trams of Levon I.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the single lion coins of Levon I, judging solely from numismatic studies, suggest that when Levon received assurances from Henry VI in the year 1197 that he would be crowned, he immediately assumed the title of king and began striking a series of coins having a single lion on the reverse. The following year, when he was officially crowned by the Armenian Catholicos and received a crown from the Roman emperor as well as a crown from the Byzantine emperor, he decided to issue coinage showing two lions on the reverse, signifying that he had been crowned king by two emperors.[28]

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Abbreviations of Table I: WM —Vienna Mekhitarist hoard
PB—Paul Bedoukian hoard
OT—Other collections

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[28] Originally published in *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, Vol. 2 (1985-1986), pp. 97-105.

THE FIRST KING OF CILICIAN ARMENIA: LEVON I OR LEVON II?

It is surprising that even to this day confusion exists regarding the designation of the numerical order of the kings of Cilician Armenia. The problem originated when the Roupenian prince, Levon II, was crowned the first king of Cilician Armenia. Prince Levon II became King Levon I of Cilician Armenia. Some historians, however, have taken the position that Levon II should continue being designated as Levon II even after he was crowned king.

For example, in the late eighteenth century the venerable historian, Chamchian, in his three-volume *History of the Armenians*, chose to call Prince Levon "Levon II, son of Stepan, who is the Great King Levon I," but he then reversed himself and called the succeeding king, Levon III, and the last king, Leo Lusignan, Levon VI.[1]

Chamchian's error was not universal. For example, a century earlier the noted Armenologist, Clemens Galanus, in his work *Historia Armena*, correctly designated the son of Hetoum I as Levon II.[2]

It is a pity that in the commercial charters granted to Mediterranean nations by the kings of Armenia, they simply signed their names "Leo, King of the Armenians," without stating whether they were the first, second, third or fourth.[3]

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[1] M. Chamchian, *History of the Armenians*, 3 volumes (Venice, 1781-1786) (in Armenian).

[2] C. Galanus, *Historia Armena* (Cologne, 1686), pp. 375, 402, index Kk2.

[3] Victor Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie ou Cartulaire de la Chancellerie royale des Roupéniens* (Venice, 1863).

V. Langlois, the well-known historian and Armenologist, for some reason chose to call the first king Leo II in his *Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge.*[4] He did this, even though aware of the existence of a seal issued by Leo Lusignan in which the legend clearly reads REGIS ARMENIAE LEONIS V, indicating beyond doubt that if the last king of that name was the fifth, the first must of necessity have been Levon I.[5] Perhaps Langlois chose to follow Chamchian.

The error was compounded when Father C. Sibilian followed suit some years later and in his book on the classification of the coinage of the Roupenians called the first king Levon II.[6]

Fortunately, other historians sought to rectify the mistake. Father Alishan, in his monumental treatise on Cilician Armenia, *Sissouan*, published in 1885, correctly designated the first king as Levon I and the last king as Levon V.[7] It seemed that at long last the situation had been clarified and the matter settled once and for all. Reinforcing the correct appellation was the publication of K. Basmadjian's study of 1908 which named the last king of the Armenians Levon V Lusignan.[8]

Nevertheless, Soviet historians have once again resurrected the confusion by calling the first king Levon II. The outstanding treatise on the history of Armenia is H. Manandian's multi-volume *Critical Survey of the History of the Armenian People* published during 1944-1960.[9] In the third volume of this work the first king is presented as Levon II. In all justice to Manandian, however, it may be that the designation was not necessarily made by him but by an academician who completed the volume after the author's death.[10] In the third volume of the projected eight-volume *History of the Armenian*

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[4] Victor Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1855).

[5] Langlois, *Cartulaire*, p. 19.

[6] Fr. Clement Sibilian, *Classification of Roupenian Coins* (Vienna, 1892), written in 1877, but published with extensive additions by Fr. Krikoris Kalemkiarian (in Armenian).

[7] Fr. Ghewond Alishan, *Sissouan* (Venice, 1885) (in Armenian); French edition (Venice, 1899).

[8] K. Basmadjian, *Levon V Lusignan* (Paris, 1908) (in Armenian).

[9] H. Manandian, *A Critical Survey of the History of the Armenian People*, 4 volumes (Erevan, 1944-1960) (in Armenian).

[10] Manandian, Vol. 3, "Preface."

People published by the Institute of History of Soviet Armenia, the first king is also named Levon II.[11]

Recognized western historians such as D. M. Lang[12] and S. Der Nersessian[13] correctly call the first king Levon I, yet a recent publication by T. S. R. Boase refers to the first king as Levon II.[14] The question has apparently not been settled to everyone's satisfaction, even though most modern historians consider the first crowned ruler of a dynasty as being king number one of that name.

It is perhaps opportune to examine the practice among writers of the Cilician period before passing a final judgment on the question of Levon I or II.

In the colophon of a Gospel written in 1327, we read the following passage: "...in the year 776 of the Armenian Era, during the pontificate of the lord Yakovb, and the reign of the devout and pious King Levon the Fourth of the Armenians, son of King Oshin of the Armenians." Levon IV ruled over Cilician Armenia from 1320-1340 A.D.; hence this writer recognized the first king as Levon I.[15]

In another Gospel dated 1329, the following appears: "...during the reign of the pious and devout King Levon the Fourth of the Armenians and during the pontificate of the lord Yakovb".[16] Again, these words show acceptance of the first king as Levon I. A third Gospel of 1336 states in the colophon: "This Gospel was completed in the capital city of Sis... in the year 785 of the Armenian Era, on Sunday the twenty-ninth day of the month of December... during the reign of King Levon, the Fourth, son of the Armenian King Oshin and during the pontificate of the lord Yakovb."[17]

A mid-fourteenth century manuscript of Nersēs Balients mentions that Hetoum who had seven brothers and three sisters was the son

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[11] *History of the Armenian People*, Vol. III (Erevan, 1976) (in Armenian).

[12] D. M. Lang, *Armenia, Cradle of Civilization* (London, 1970).

[13] S. Der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (London, 1969).

[14] T. S. R. Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (New York, 1978).

[15] L. S. Khachikian, *Colophons of Fourteenth Century Armenian Manuscripts* (Erevan, 1950), p. 203, No. 255 (in Armenian), as translated by A. K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 58.

[16] Khachikian, p. 218, No. 274a; Sanjian, p. 68.

[17] Khachikian, pp. 283-284, No. 349a; Sanjian, p. 77.

of Levon II.[18] Since it was Hetoum II who had this number of brothers and sisters, it becomes obvious that Balients recognized the first ruler as Levon I.

In his publication on the coinage of Armenia, Basmadjian describes a manuscript written in 1329 which has a colophon stating: "This holy Gospel was completed in the year 778 of the Armenian Era, during the pontificate of the lord Yakovb and during the reign over the Armenians of the Fourth Levon."[19] His book on Levon V Lusignan gives a detailed account of the latter's seal on which the legend REGIS ARMENIAE LEONIS QUINTI is clearly legible. In addition, he mentions the existence of a second and different seal of Leo V with a similar legend. Finally, Basmadjian describes the signature of the last king which reads ROY LYON V, R.[20]

In all likelihood, examination of other documents will further clarify the question of Levon I versus Levon II, but, hopefully, the evidence already available should end this long-lasting dispute in favor of Levon I as the proper designation of the first Armenian king of Cilicia.[21]

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18 V. A. Hakobian, *Minor Chronicles of the Thirteenth to Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II (Erevan, 1956), p. 182 (in Armenian).

19 K. J. Basmadjian, *Numismatique générale de l'Arménie* (Venice, 1936) (in Armenian); and Basmadjian, *Haratch* (Paris, Oct. 16, 1934).

20 See above, note 8.

21 Originally published in *Armenian Studies in Memoriam Haïg Berbérian* (Lisbon, 1986), pp. 63-66.

TWO HOARDS OF LEVON II TRAMS

(Plates 8-13)

Levon II (A.D. 1271-1289), king of Cilician Armenia, witnessed the final destruction of the Crusader principalities in the Near East and the gradual decline of the kingdom of Armenia. The history of this period has been reviewed by Der Nersessian[1] and by the author.[2]

Levon II ascended the throne on 6 January 1271. Well aware that during his father's reign the Mamluks, under the leadership of Baibars, had invaded and devastated Cilician Armenia, Levon saw the urgency of a Mongol-Armenian-European alliance to face further Mamluk threats. At the suggestion of Abagha Khan, the Mongol ruler, envoys were sent to various European courts, including that of Edward I of England, but the mission did not succeed. The failure of a concerted action resulted in the total defeat of the Crusader territories and foreshadowed the inevitable end of the Armenian kingdom a century later, in 1375.

In the early days of Levon's reign, however, the Mamluk sultan, Baibars, was occupied with wars elsewhere, giving the Armenians a breathing spell. The Egyptians had captured many Crusader ports and rendered others ineffective, giving the Armenian port of Ayas the opportunity of serving as a port of entry to the vast Mongol hinterland. On visiting Ayas in 1271, Marco Polo described it as a very busy, flourishing city.[3]

In 1275 the Mamluks again began their attack against Armenia.

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[1] S. Der Nersessian, *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 653-654.

[2] Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962), pp. 12-13. (Also in revised edition, Danbury, Connecticut, 1979).

[3] W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1962), pp. 73-92.

In 1280 and 1281, the combined armies of the Mongols and Armenians waged bloody wars against the Mamluks, with inconclusive results. The new Egyptian sultan, Qalaun, pressed his attacks, and Levon, realizing the inability of the Mongols to assist him effectively, sued for peace. A ten-year truce was arranged, under the terms of which Levon was forced to pay a tribute amounting to the equivalent of a million takvorins annually, half in cash, the balance in horses, mules, and iron bars.[4]

In spite of these heavy terms the peace allowed the country to fare quite well. Commerce was prosperous. As patron of the arts Levon saw to it that many buildings and monasteries were built, and it was during this period that a large number of beautiful manuscripts were produced, many of which have survived to this day.

The coinage of Levon reflects the historical facts. In the first years of his reign his coins were of the same weight and fineness as those of his illustrious predecessors Levon I (1199-1217) and Hetoum I (1226-1271). We thus find a series of issues weighing about 3 grams and containing over 90 per cent silver.

When the treaty of peace was signed with Qalaun, the tribute was paid in takvorins, a debased tram weighing about 2.5 grams, with a silver content of 70 per cent or less.

Comments on the Hoards

The first Levon hoard (its provenance is unknown) was acquired by the author nearly twenty years ago. It consisted of about 275 trams and half trams. Two hundred and sixty one pieces are listed in the present catalogue. It is seen that the coins consisted mostly of the earlier issues, with a few transitional specimens.

The author is grateful to Mr. Jack Guevrekian, the owner of a second hoard of sixty pieces, for making aluminium foil impressions of the entire hoard for this study. Guevrekian's collection proved to be an extremely valuable complement to the first hoard since it established the chronology of the issues and cleared up another question—the possible existence of a mint in Ayas.

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[4] Victor Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie ou Cartulaire de la Chancellerie royale des Roupéniens* (Venice, 1863), pp. 217-231.

Hoard 1 nearly trebled the number of coins showing on the reverse a lion facing left which are described in the author's corpus.[5] It is curious that although most of the pieces are in very good condition, many were struck in such a manner that part of the legend is barely seen. It would appear that no mechanism existed to hold the die in a perfectly vertical position while the coin was being struck.

Examination of the two hoards gave possible solutions to some problems concerning the coinage of Levon II.[6]

As mentioned earlier, hoard 1 consisted mostly of the early series, with some types also appearing in hoard 2. Hoard 2 contains only a few coins which have die links with hoard 1. The obverse legends of most of the coins in hoard 2 differ radically from the obverse legends in hoard 1. Available data from earlier studies show that the weight and silver content of the coins represented in hoard 1 are considerably higher than those represented in hoard 2. In view of the historical events mentioned above, it may be assumed that the heavier coins were the earlier. Hence the chronological order in the catalogue.

A study of the table of obverse legends suggests that the abbreviation of the legend was not entirely the result of incompetence on the part of the die-cutters—the gradual elimination of the end letters seems planned and quite orderly. Careless production would undoubtedly have caused errors in many words in the legends. This is not the case—rather, a certain simplification in the representation of the letters has come about with the abbreviations. The three or four die links listed below indicate that the coins with complete legends were struck within a given period, separated in time from coins with more abbreviated legends, which in turn have no die links to those with the most abbreviated ones. It almost appears that the obverse legends were used as a method of accounting or as an indication of different issues of coinage.

Another finding: the study of hoard 2 seems to contradict the state-

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[5] Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, pp. 290-299.

[6] Fr. Clement Sibilian, *Classification of Roupenian Coins* (Vienna, 1892), pp. 1-2 (in Armenian).

ments made by Sekoulian[7] and Nercessian[8] to the effect that a mint existed in Ayas. The statements were based on the premise that the last word in the reverse legend, Ih and Ik should be construed as AYAS instead of SIS. In the Armenian alphabet, the letters A and S vary only by the presence of a small hook attached to the right base of the letter A (see table of obverse legends). There is ample evidence, however, that throughout the entire duration of the Armenian kingdom, die-cutters were either illiterate or had no knowledge of the alphabet. Numerous instances exist of blundered letters, especially letters that are similar to each other. We also see many cases where the letters A and S are interchanged in one word. In addition, in the obverse legends of Levon's coins, where the letter A is used five times, the hook on the letter A is generally omitted, probably to speed up or simplify the task of the die-cutter.

The Armenian alphabet has a letter for I and another for Y. These two letters are entirely dissimilar, and the letter Y is always shown correctly on the legends. If the inscription of Ih or Ik is to be accepted as being AYAS, then it represents the only instance where the letter I has been substituted for the letter Y—an unlikely happening since the two letters are very different.

Further proof was found in hoard 2. Coins 15 and 16 from that hoard were struck from the same obverse die, and the reverse of 16 clearly reads SIS; the reverse of 15 shows letters which Sekoulian and Nercessian interpreted as AYAS. Yet it seems obvious that both coins were struck in SIS; otherwise one must believe that an obverse die was used to strike coin 16 and that the die was then taken to AYAS to strike coins in that city.

In the photograph of Nercessian's coin No. 5, the obverse appears to have been struck from the same die as coin No. 29 of hoard 2. He reads the last word of the reverse legend of his coin as AYAS, whereas coin No. 29 clearly reads SIS. We thus have a second example where SIS and the so-called AYAS coins are struck with identical obverse dies.

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[7] Fr. Au. Sekoulian, "Armenian Coins Struck in the City of Ayas," *Handes Amsorya*, Vol. LXXXII (April-June 1968), Nos. 4-6, pp. 213-218 (in Armenian); English translation in ANJ, Vol. IV (1978), pp. 75-80, pl. VII.

[8] Y. T. Nercessian, "Levon II Trams Struck in Ayas," ANJ, Vol. IV (1978), pp. 81-90, pls. VIII-IX.

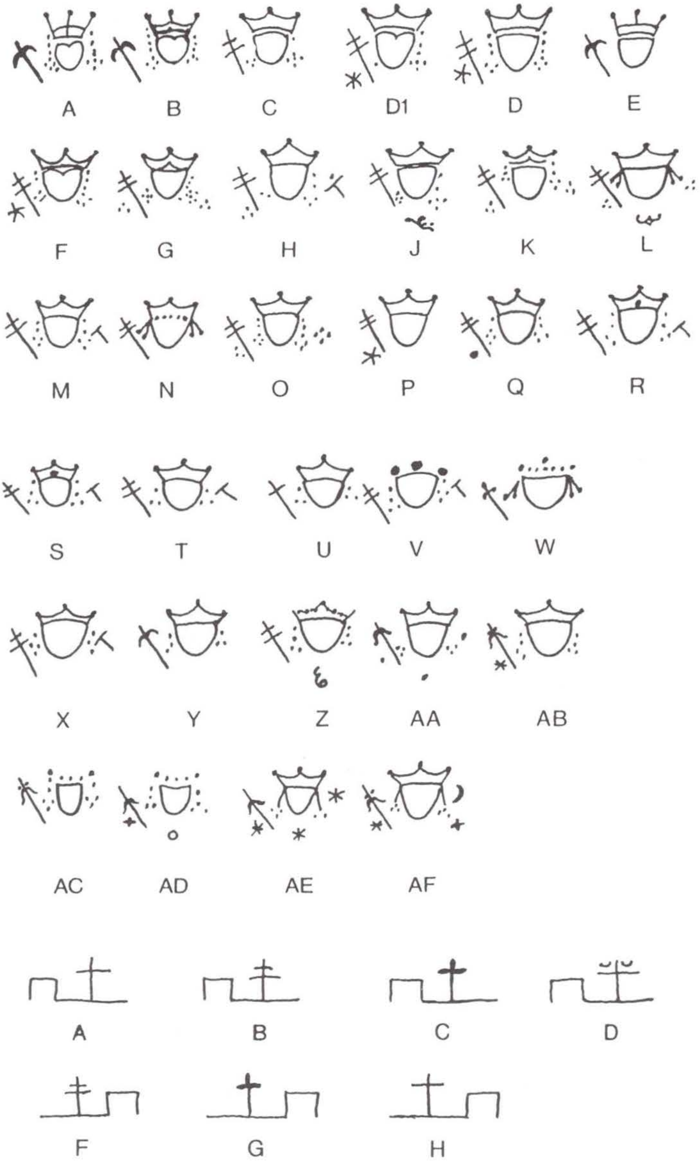

Fig. 1. *Obverse and reverse styles.*

CATALOGUE

The first column in the catalogue gives the obverse die variety, the second, the style of the obverse die. It is interesting that obverse die No. 1 is presented with no less than 19 reverse die varieties, even though all but one are style A. The 238 trams listed are represented by 41 obverse and 105 reverse varieties.

The three sets of die links (Fig. 2) strongly suggest that the listing in the catalogue is in chronological order. The obverse-reverse die links in hoard 1 are:

I. O1-R3-O7-R23-O3-R21-O6
II. O8-R26-O5-R12-O24-R75-O21-R74-O22, tied to III through O5
III. O4-R45-O5=R32-O16-R69-O32-R73-O20
IV. O41-R87-O27-R85-O36-R91-O37

Reverse Legends

I	ՑԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
Ia	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
Ib	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
Ic	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
Id	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՐԱՂԱՐՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
Ie	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՐԱՂԱՐՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
If	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
Ih	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ԱԻԱ
Ik	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՐԱՂԱՐՆ Ի ԱԻՍ
II	ՑԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ
IIa	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻ
III	ՑԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍՍ
IIIa	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂՔԱՆ Ի ՍՍ
IIb	ԾԻՆԵՍԼ Ի ՐՍՂՍՐՆ Ի ՍՍ
IV	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍԻ
IVa	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՐԱՂՍՐՆ Ի ՍԻՍԻ ∴
IVb	ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՐՍՂՍՐՆ Ի ՍԻՍԻ
V	ԾԻՆԵՍԼ Ի ՐՍՂՍՐՆ Ի ՍԻՍԻՍ
VI	ԾԻՆԵՍԼ Ի ՐՍՂՍՐՆ Ի ՍԻՍՍ
VII	ԾԻՆԵՍԼ Ի ՐՍՂՍՐՆ Ի ՍԻՍՈ
VIII	ԾԻՆԵՍԼ Ի ՐՍՂԱՐՆ Ի ՍԻՍԻՍԻ

HOARD 1

Obverse Die	Obverse Style	Reverse Die	Reverse Style	Reverse Legend	Specimen Number	No. of Coins	Reverse Links to Obverse Dies
Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈ							
1	A	1	A	I	1	5	
		2	A	I	2	1	
		3	A	Id	3	1	
		4	A	IIIa	4	1	
		5	A	II	5	2	
		6	A	I	6	2	
		7	A	I	7	2	
		8	A	I	8	1	
		9	A	I	9	1	
		10	A	I	10	1	
		11	A	I	11	1	
		12	B	Ib	12	2	
		13	A	Id	13	3	7
		14	A	IIa	14	2	
		15	A	IV	15	1	
		16	A	I	16	1	
		17	A	Id	17	1	
		18	A	Id	18	1	
		19	A	III	19	3	
2	B	20	B	Id?	20	3	
3	C	21	B	Id	21	9	6
		22	B	Id	22	2	
		23	B	Id	23	1	7
		24	B	IIa	24	1	
4	D1	25	B	IV	25	1	5
Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹՍԳՍՒՈՐ ՍՄԵՆՍՅՆ ▪ՍՅՈ							
5	D	26	B	IVb	26	1	8
		27	B	IVb	27	1	
		28	A	VIII	28	3	
		29	B	Id	29	1	

Obverse Die	Obverse Style	Reverse Die	Reverse Style	Reverse Legend	Specimen Number	No. of Coins	Reverse Links to Obverse Dies
		30	B	V	30	1	14
		31	B	V[9]	31	1	
		32	B	VIII	32	3	12, 17
		33	B	V	33	1	
		25	B	IVb	34	3	4
		34	B	Ia	34a	2	
6	D	21	B	Ia[10]	35	1	3
Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՅԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈ							
7	E	23	A	Ia	36	8	3
		13	A	Ia	36a	1	1
		35	A	Ia	37	3	
		36	D	Ia	38	2	
		37	D	Ia	39	1	
		38	B	Ia	40	3	
		39	B	Ia	41	1	
		40	B	Id	42	1	
		41	B	VII	43	1	
Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅԱ							
8	F	42	B	VIII	44	2	
		43	B	Id	45	1	
		44	B	V[11]	46	1	
		26	B	IVb	47	1	5
		45	B	IVb	48	1	
		46	B	IVb	49	1	
9	G	47	B	IVb	50	3	24
		48	B	Id	51	1	
10	H	49	B	IIIb	52	1	31

[9] Second last letter imperfect.

[10] Eighth letter lacks horizontal bar.

[11] Second last letter incorrect.

Obverse Die	Obverse Style	Reverse Die	Reverse Style	Reverse Legend	Specimen Number	No. of Coins	Reverse Links to Obverse Dies
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱՔԱԻՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱԵՆ ՀԱՅ|					
11	J	50	B	Id	53	3	
		51	B	Id	54	8	
		52	B	Id	55	3	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱ|ՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅ|					
12	J	53	B	VIII	56	2	
		32	B	VIII	57	1	5, 17
		55	B	VI	58	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱ|ՈՐ ԱՄԻՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅ					
13	J	56	B	Id	59	3	
		57	B	Id	60	4	
		58	B	Id	61	1	
		59	B	Id	62	4	
		60	B	Id	64	1	
		61	B	Id	65	2	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱ|ՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅ					
14	F	62	B	Id	66	1	
		30	B	V	67	1	5
		63	B	Id	68	1	
		64	B	Id	69	4	
		65	B	IVb	70	1	
		66	B	IVb	71	1	
		67	B	VII[12]	72	1	
15[13]		68	B	IV	73	2	
16[14]		69	B	IV	74	4	32
17	J	70	B	VIII	75a	2	
		32	B	VIII	80	1	5, 12
18		71	B	Id	81	4	

[12] Last letter inverted.
[13] Obverse legend starts 90° to right of crown.
[14] Reverse legend starts 30° to right of crown.

Obverse Die	Obverse Style	Reverse Die	Reverse Style	Legend	Specimen Number	No. of Coins	Reverse Links to Obverse Dies
19		72	B	Id	82	1	
20	C	73	B	IVb	86	2	32
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹՍԳՍ|ՈՐ ՄԵՆՍՅՆ ՀՍՅ					
21	K	74	B	Ib	87	1	22,25,26,24
	K	75	B	Id	76	1	24
22	C	76	B	Id	84	1	21,24,26,25
23	C	77	B	Id	85	1	
24	L	78	B	IVa[15]	75	2	35
	L	79	B	IVb	118	1	
	L	74	B	Id	119	1	21,22,26,25
	L	75	B	IVb	120	1	21
	L	47	B	IVb	121	1	9
25	L	74	B	Id[16]	77	1	21,22,24,26
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀՅՒՈՅ					
26	L	74	B	Id	78	1	21,22,25,24
		82	B	Id	125	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹՍԳՍ|ՈՐ ՍՄԷՆՍՅՆ ▪Ս|					
27	M	83	B	Id	88	6	29, 36
		84	B	Id	89	6	36
		85	B	Id	90	2	29, 36
		86	B	Id	91	2	
		87	B	IVb	92	2	41
28	M	88[17]	A	Id	93	1	
		89[17]	C	Id	94	1	
		90[17]	A	V	95	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹՍԳՍ|ՈՐ ՍՄԵՆՍՅՆ ▪Ս					
29	M	83	B	Id	96	5	27, 36
		91	B	IVb	97	3	36, 37

[15] Three dots at end of legend.
[16] Three dots at end of legend.
[17] Dots in tail curve.

Obverse Die	Obverse Style	Reverse Die	Reverse Style	Reverse Legend	Specimen Number	No. of Coins	Reverse Links to Obverse Dies
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹՍԳՍ|ՈՐ ՍՄԵՆՍՅՆ ▪Ս					
		92	B	IVb	98	1	
		93	B	Id	99	1	40
		94	B	V	100	1	
		95	B	IIIb	101	2	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻԱՐ ՄԵՆԱՅՆ ▪Ս					
30	N	96	B	IVb	102	2	35
		97	B	Ic	103	1	
		98	B	Id	103a	1	
31	O	49	B	IIIb	104	1	10
		100	B	---	105	1	
32	P	69	B	IV	108	1	16
	J	73	B	IVb	109	1	20
33	Q	101	B	IVb	111	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱ|ՈՐ ՍՄԵՆՍՆ ▪Ս					
34	R	102	B	Ik	106	1	38
		103	B	Ik	107	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ԱՆԵՆԱՅՆ Ա					
35	L	96	B	IVb	110	2	30
		78	B	IVb[18]	117a	1	24
		96	B	IVb	117b	1	
		10	B	IVb[18]	117c	1	
		96	B	IVb	117d	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ՐՍԳՍԻՈՐ ՍՄԵՆՅՆ ▪▪					
36	S	84	B	Id	112	4	27
		91	B	IVd	113	2	29, 37
		83	B	Id	114	2	27, 29
37	T	91	B	IVd	115	2	29, 36

[18] Dots at end of legend.

Obverse Die	Obverse Style	Reverse Die	Reverse Style	Reverse Legend	Specimen Number	No. of Coins	Reverse Links to Obverse Dies
Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԽՍԳՍԻՈՐ ՍՆԵՆՍՆ ▪							
38	T	102	B	Ik	116	1	34
39	U	101[19]	A	Id	117	1	
Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ՐՍԳՍԻՈՐ ՍՄԵՆՍՅՆ							
40	T	93[20]	B	IVb	122	2	29
41	V	87	B	IVb	123	2	27
TRANSITION PERIOD							
Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹՍԳՍ|ՈՐ ՍՄԻՆՍՅՆ ▪ՍՅ							
42	J	107[21]	F	Id	126	1	
Obverse Legend: ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅԻՈՑ							
43	W	108	G	I	127	1	
		109	G	I	128	1	
44		110	G	I	129	1	
Obverse Legend: ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀՅԻՈՑ							
45	W	111[22]	B	Id[23]	130	2	

HALF TRAMS

1. Obverse struck with small half tram die (Bed. No. 1524). Reverse struck with type B tram die.
2. Obverse similar but not identical with half trams 4, 5, 6. Reverse identical with half tram 3.
3. Obverse similar but not identical with half trams 4, 5, 6. Reverse identical with half tram 2.
4. Obverse similar but not identical with tram No. 37. Reverse identical with half tram 6.

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[19] Dot in right field.
[20] Dots in field.
[21] Lion to right.
[22] Lion to right. Dot in right field.
[23] Legend blundered.

5. Obverse struck with tram die No. 27.
   Reverse type B.
6. Obverse similar but not identical with tram No. 37.
   Reverse identical with half tram 4.
7. Obverse similar but not identical with half trams 4, 5, 6.
   Reverse uncertain.
8. Obverse similar but not identical with tram No. 40.
   Reverse type H.
9 Obverse similar but not identical with tram No. 30.
   Reverse type H.
10 Obverse struck with tram die No. 30.
   Reverse type B.
11 Obverse struck with tram die No. 39.
   Reverse struck with die of tram No. 39.
12. New type obverse?
   Reverse type B.
13. New type obverse?
   Reverse type B.

Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17. Obverse uncertain, reverse type B.

HOARD 2

Obverse Die	Obverse Style	Reverse Die	Reverse Style	Legend	Specimen Number	No. of Coins	Reverse Links to Obverse Dies
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒԱՐ ՄԵՆԱՅՆ ▪Ա					
1	X	1	B	---	1	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹՍԳՍ|ՈՐ ՍՄԻՆՍՅՆ ▪ՍՅ					
2	Y	2	B	I	2	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹՍԳՍ|ՈՐ ՄԵՆՍՅՆ ՀՍՅ					
3	?	3	B	IVb	3	1	

Obverse Die	Obverse Style	Reverse Die	Reverse Style	Reverse Legend	Specimen Number	No. of Coins	Reverse Links to Obverse Dies
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ՖՍԳՍ|ՈՐ ՍՄƐՆՍՅՆ ▪▟|					
4[24]	R	4	B[25]	V	4	4	
[26]		5	B[27]	IVb	5	2	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ՖՍԳՍ|ՈՐ ՍՄԵՆՍՅՆ ▪▟					
5[28]	M	6	B[29]	I	6	9	
		7	B[30]	IVb	7	2	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒԱՐ ՄԵՆԱՅՆ ▪▟					
6	U	8[31]	C	---	8	2	
7	Q?	9	B	---	9	1	
8	Q?	10	B	---	10	1	
9	Q?	11	B	---	11	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ՍԹՍՔՈՐ ՍՄԵՆՍՅՆ ▪▪					
10	Q?	12	B	IIb[32]	12	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ՐՍԳՍՒՈՐ ՍՄԵՆՍՅՆ ▪▪					
11[33]	T	13[34]	B	---	13	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՈՆ ՖՍԳՍՒՈՐ ՍՄԵՆՍՅ					
12	U	14	A	Id	14	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՒՈՑ					
13	Z	15[35]	G	Ih	15	2	
		16[35]	G	If	16	1	

[24] Identical with 27 of hoard 1.
[25] Identical with 85 of hoard 1.
[26] Identical with 28 of hoard 1.
[27] Identical with 85 of hoard 1.
[28] Identical with 29 of hoard 1.
[29] Identical with 83 of hoard 1.
[30] Identical with 87 of hoard 1.
[31] Identical with 89 of hoard 1.
[32] Dots at end of legend.
[33] Identical with 41 of hoard 1.
[34] Identical with 93 of hoard 1.
[35] Reverse 15+16 are ԱՒԱ and ՍՒՍ with identical obverse.

Obverse Die	Obverse Style	Reverse Die	Reverse Style	Reverse Legend	Specimen Number	No. of Coins	Reverse Links to Obverse Dies
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅԻՈՑ					
14	W	17	H	Ib	17	1	
15	W	18	H	Ib	18	1	
16	W	19	H	Ib	19	1	
		20	H	Ib	20	1	
17	W	21	H	Ib	21	1	
		22	H	Ib	22	1	
18	W	23	H	Ib	23	1	
19[36]	W	24	H	Ib	24	1	
20	U	25	H	Ib	25	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀՍՅՍՑ					
21	AA	26	F	Ib	26	1	
22	AA	27	F	Ih	27	1	
23	AA	28	F	Ih	28	1	
24	AA	29	F	Ib	29	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹՍԳՍՒՈՐ ՀՍՅՈՑ					
25	AB	30	A	Ia[37]	30	1	
26	AA	31	F	Ih	31	1	
		Obverse Legend: ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀՍՅՍ					
27	AC	32	G	Ib	32	4	
		33	G	Ib	33	1	
28	AD	34	F	Ih	34	3	
29[38]		35	F	Ib	35	1	
30	AE	36	F	Ib	36	1	
31	AE	37	F	Ib	37	1	
32	AE	38	F	Ih	38	1	
33	AE	39	F	Ib	39	1	
34	---	40	G	Ib	40	1	

[36] Identical with 43 of hoard 1.
[37] Dots after legend.
[38] Second last letter of legend inverted.

Originally published in *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 145 (1985), pp. 123-135.

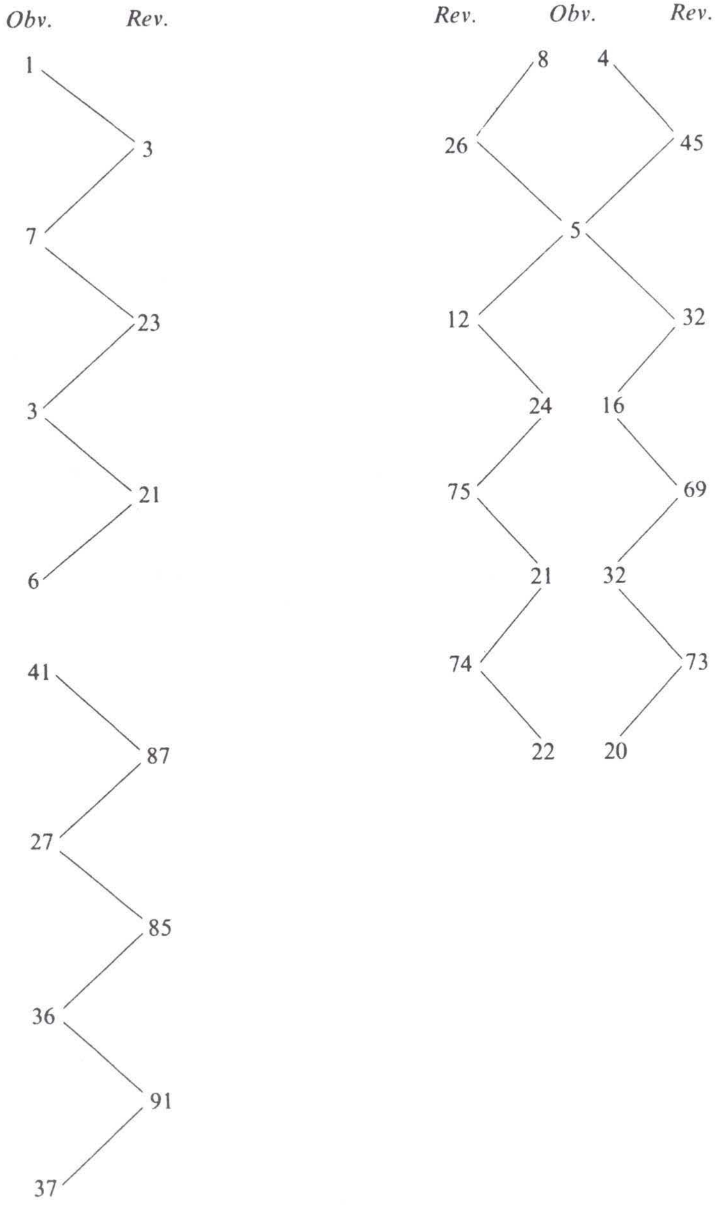

Fig. 2. *Obverse-reverse die links in hoard 1 and hoard 2*

SOME CURIOUS ONE-SIDED COINS

(Plate 14)

A number of one-sided coins are recorded in the literature. Although of little numismatic value, collectors anxious to own unusual pieces prize them highly.

Aside from their rarity, these coins tell us something about the minting procedure in Cilician Armenia. In all cases, we see the obverse properly struck and representing well-known types. The reverse, however, presents the mirror image of the same coin. Obviously, the letters and image of the king are "negatives" appearing below the surface of the coin. One has to conclude that such coins happened because the previously struck specimen was not ejected from the die and thus served as the reverse die of the specimens under discussion.

It is even more interesting to note that since in all three cases cited the obverse die is present on both sides, the reverse die served as the stationary anvil while the obverse die was held by hand to strike the coin.

It also seems that no mechanical means were present to have permanent obverse-reverse die position. In each instance, the obverse die apparently moved slightly relative to its previous position. If it hadn't moved, the two sides would always have been exactly juxtaposed. This slight movement of the die position, of course, had to be the result of manually holding the obverse die with each strike.

1. Tank of Levon I

This tank belongs to the series numbered 715-719 in the author's book.[1] It has six dots on the crown and a single curl (Fig. 1).

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[1] P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962; revised edition,

Obv.: Leonine head of the king with a crown. The head is always bearded and the crown is adorned with a number of dots, probably indicating adornment with jewels. Legend,
ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՒՈՑ (Levon king of the Armenians).

Rev.: Mirror image of obverse.
Weight: 6.50 g.; diameter: 28 mm.

2. Kardez of Hetoum I

A one-sided example of this coin is in the writer's possession (Fig. 2).

Obv.: The king is on horseback facing and moving right. The design is similar to the obverse of the bilingual silver trams but is executed with much less skill. Similar to No. 1403 in corpus.[2] Legend,
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅ (Hetoum king of the Armenians).

Rev.: Mirror image of obverse.
Weight: 4.23 g.; diameter: 22 mm.

3. Pogh of Hetoum II

This is a typical pogh of Hetoum II, of the type shown in Nos. 1650-1652 in the author's corpus[3] (Fig. 3).

Obv.: King is seated in oriental fashion, wearing a crown, holding a staff in right hand and a cross in left. In this case, because of space limitations, the hand holding the cross is not visible. Legend,
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ (Hetoum king).

Rev.: A mirror image of obverse, several degrees to right.
Weight: 2.41 g.; diameter: 11 mm.

Conclusion: Aside from satisfying the collector in his search for unusual pieces, these coins shed light on manner in which coins were struck in Cilician Armenia.[4]

Danbury, Connecticut, 1979; Armenian edition, Vienna, 1963).

[2] *ibid.*, p. 287.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 325.

[4] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. XVII (1991), No. 1, pp. 2-4.

ՈՐՈՇ ՀԵՏԱՔՐՔՐԱԿԱՆ ՄԻԱԿՈՂՄԱՆԻ ԴՐԱՄՆԵՐ

[*Ամփոփում*]

Այս յօդուածին մէջ կը քննարկուին հետեւեալ երեք պղինձէ դրամները.—

1. *Դանգ Լեւոն Ա-ի:*

Այս կը պատկանի հեղինակի գիրքին մէջի թիւ 715-719 *դրամաշարքին: Ունի վեց կէտ և մէկ գանգուր:*

Ակողմ. *Թագադրուած առիւծանման գլուխ մը: Երեսը մօրուսաւոր է, թագը՝ զարդարուած գոհարներով: Շրջագրութիւն՝* ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ:

Բեկողմ. *Ակողմին արտացոլուած պատկերը:* *Քաշ,* 6.5 *կրամ. տրամագիծ,* 28 *մմ:*

2. *Քարտէզ Հեթում Ա-ի:*

Այս դրամին միակողմանի նմոյշը կը գտնուի հեղինակի հաւաքածոյին մէջ:

Ակողմ. *Հանդիպահայեաց ձիավար թագաւորը կը քալէ դէպի աջ: Դրամը նման է երկլեզուեան դրամի ոճին, բայց կերտուած է աւելի նուազ ճարտարութեամբ: Նման է Պտուկեանի գիրքին թիւ* 1403 *դրամին: Շրջագրութիւն՝* ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅ:

Բեկողմ. *Ակողմին արտացոլուած պատկերը:* *Քաշ,* 4.23 *կրամ. տրամագիծ,* 22 *մմ:*

3. *Փող Հեթում Բ-ի:*

Այս դրամը Հեթում Բ-ի տիպար փող մըն է, որ դասաւորուած է Պտուկեանի գիրքին մէջ իբրև թիւ 1650-1652*:*

Ակողմ. *Թագաւորը նստած է արեւելեան ձեւով, կը կրէ թագ, աջ ձեռքով կը բռնէ մական մը և ձախով՝ խաչ մը: Այս դրամին վրայ միջոցի պակասին պատճառով խաչը տեսանելի չէ: Շրջագրութիւն՝* ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ:

Բեկողմ. *Ակողմին արտացոլուած պատկերը, քանի մը աստիճան դէպի աջ:* *Քաշ,* 2.41 *կրամ. տրամագիծ,* 11 *մմ:*

SOME CURIOUS COINS FROM CILICIAN ARMENIA

(Plate 15)

In philately, an "error" stamp such as one with an inverted center, is highly valued and commands premium prices. In numismatics, an error where the same legend appears on both sides of the coin is also considered a rarity and appreciated by collectors.

When dealing with Roupenian coins, it is curious that in a few instances, although the correct image is seen on the obverse and reverse, the obverse legend is absent and the reverse legend appears in its place. This situation indicates that the die-maker was either unfamiliar with the Armenian language or illiterate, and inadvertently copied the reverse legend on the obverse.

Of the many millions of coins struck in Cilician Armenia, tens of thousands have survived, including a few mint errors.

This article discusses:

1. A billon of Hetoum II on a copper flan.
2. A kardez of Hetoum II without the king's name on the obverse but having a reverse legend on both sides.
3. A copper coin of Oshin, again minus the king's name on the obverse.

It should be pointed out that in the Middle Ages, minting techniques were not mechanized, all dies were handmade, and all coins were struck by hand. As a result, chances of mistakes in the preparation of the dies increased considerably. And since illiteracy was widespread, the existence of such coins was generally unnoticed.

Many examples of errors or inaccuracies are cited in the author's corpus.[1] To list a few: Levon I (1198-1219),[2] Hetoum I (1226-1270),[3] Levon II (1270-1289),[4] Smpad (1296-1298),[5] Levon III (1301-1308),[6] Oshin (1308-1320),[7] Levon IV (1320-1342).[8]

1. A Copper Coin of Hetoum II Struck with a Billon Die

This coin is indeed curious and to the best of the writer's knowledge, unique (Fig. 1). It is obvious that a billon die was used in striking this copper piece, but it is impossible to say whether it was originally intended to pass as a billon. Perhaps originally some copper pieces were struck with the common silver billons, but the practice was discarded because it proved to be too difficult to distinguish between the two. Of course, the larger coppers bearing a different design are not in this category.

Obv.: The head of the king is shown, wearing a crown. Legend, ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ (Hetoum king).

Rev.: A cross with various field marks. Legend, ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈ (of all Armenians).
Weight: 0.96 g.; diameter: 8 mm.

2. A Kardez of Hetoum II Lacking the King's Name

Numerous examples of copper coins of Hetoum II are listed in the corpus of *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*. All bear the king's image and name on the obverse and sometimes have the king's name on both sides of the coin (Fig. 2).

In the specimen under discussion, the obverse has the legend "BY THE POWER OF GOD" commonly used by his predecessors, Levon

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[1] P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962; revised edition, Danbury, Connecticut, 1979; Armenian edition, Vienna, 1963).

[2] *ibid.*, pp. 213-216.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 289.

[4] *ibid.*, p. 290.

[5] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "Two Unpublished Coins of Smpad," *Haigazian Armenological Review*, Vol. VII (1980), pp. 111-120, illust.; also in SNS [I], pp. 538-547 (in Armenian).

[6] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 326.

[7] *ibid.*, p. 364.

[8] *ibid.*, pp. 374, 380.

I and Hetoum I (but not appearing on the coins of Levon II). The legend "STRUCK IN THE CITY OF SIS" is seen on the reverse of the coins of the three forebears of Hetoum II.

Obv.: The king is seated in oriental fashion (similar to coin No. 1649 in Bedoukian[9] where the king is shown holding a staff in his right hand and a cross in his left hand). The coin under discussion is poorly executed, with the cross and staff barely visible. Legend,
ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ Ա Է (by the power of God).

Rev.: A cross with no dots in the field. Legend,
ՃԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱ (struck in the city).
Weight: 2.38 g.; diameter: 10 mm.

3. A Pogh of Oshin Lacking the King's Name

Oshin struck many beautiful silver coins, including coronation pieces similar in design to the silver trams of Levon I, and others of inferior quality on which the obverse shows the king on horseback. His copper coins, similar in size and appearance to the billons of Hetoum II, are relatively scarce. The large copper coins of Levon I are known as *tank*, the smaller coppers of succeeding kings, *kardez*, and those struck by Oshin, *poghs*.

This specimen appears to be a pogh of Oshin, except for the fact it lacks the king's name on the obverse. To the best of writer's knowledge, it is the only such coin in existence (Fig. 3).

Obv.: The king is seated on a bench, holding a cross in his right hand and a fleur-de-lys in his left. Legend,
ՃԻՆԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ս (struck in the city).

Rev.: Cross with four rays. Legend,
ՃԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂ Ն (struck in the city).
Weight: 0.85 g.; diameter: 11 mm.

Conclusion: Thanks to a slip-up on the part of the die-maker who repeated the same legend on the obverse and the reverse of the die, we have rarities cherished by avid collectors.[10]

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[9] *ibid.*, p. 365.

[10] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. XVI (1990), No. 2, pp. 16-19.

ԿԻԼԻԿԵԱՆ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՄԻ ՔԱՆԻ ՀԵՏԱՔՐՔՐԱԿԱՆ ԴՐԱՄՆԵՐԸ

[Ամփոփում]

Այս յօդուածին մէջ կը քննարկուին հետեւեալ երեք պղինձէ դրամները.—

1. ***Հեթում Բ-ի պիլոն մը՝ կոխուած պղինձէ դրամի մը վրայ***

Ակողմ. *Թագաւորի հանդիպահայեաց կիսանդրին, որ գլխուն ունի թագ մը։ Շրջագրութիւն՝*
ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ:

Բեկողմ. *Խաչ մը և դաշտին մէջ զանազան նշաններ։ Շրջագրութիւն՝*
ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈ:
Քաշ, 0.96 *կրամ. տրամագիծ,* 8 *մմ։*

2. ***Հեթում Բ-ի քարտէզ մը՝ կոխուած առանց թագաւորի անուան արձանագրութեան***

Ակողմ. *Թագաւորը հանդիպահայեաց ծալլապատիկ նստած է արեւելեան ձեւով։ Ան աջ ձեռքով բռնած է արքայական մական մը, իսկ ձախով՝ խաչ մը։ Շրջագրութիւն՝*
ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ Ա Է:

Բեկողմ. *Խաչ մը։ Շրջագրութիւն՝*
ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱ:
Քաշ, 2.38 *կրամ. տրամագիծ,* 10 *մմ։*

3. ***Օշինի պղինձ մը՝ կոխուած առանց թագաւորի անուան արձանագրութեան***

Ակողմ. *Թագաւորը հանդիպահայեաց նստած է նստարանի մը վրայ։ Ան աջ ձեռքով բռնած է խաչ մը, իսկ ձախով՝ շուշան մը։ Շրջագրութիւն՝*
ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ Ս:

Բեկողմ. *Խաչ մը չորս գիծերով։ Շրջագրութիւն՝*
ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂ Ն:
Քաշ, 0.85 *կրամ. տրամագիծ,* 11 *մմ։*

A SILVER HOARD OF SMPAD OF CILICIAN ARMENIA

(Plate 16)

This article[*] describes a hoard of 25 silver coins of King Smpad of Cilician Armenia,[1] whose content has value for numismatic research. This hoard[1a] seems to be sufficiently important and interesting to present to our readers (Plate 16).

Very few coin hoards of the Roupenian period have been carefully studied. Father Clement Sibilian,[2] mentions that between the years 1870 and 1875,[2a] on or near the road between Iznemid and Ankara in western Asia Minor, during the construction of a railroad, a clay pot containing 500 silver trams of Levon I was discovered. Sibilian was satisfied to write that all of the coins were the regular type of Levon silvers,[2b] with 14 different (inscription?) varieties. According

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[*] Originally published in *Handes Amsorya* of Vienna, Vol. LXXVIII (January-March 1964), Nos. 1-3, pp. 37-44 (in Armenian). It was translated into English by Levon A. Saryan, Ph.D. A few revisions and updates are reflected in the footnotes.

[1] This hoard is now dispersed. Part of it was donated to the American Numismatic Society (New York), Harvard University (Boston), and to the Mekhitarist Monastery Museum (Vienna). Most of the remaining coins are in the author's collection.

[1a] The hoard was originally procured in the early 1960s.

[2] Fr. C. Sibilian, *Classification of Roupenian Coins* (Vienna, 1892), p. 10 (in Armenian).

[2a] This hoard, discovered in 1873, consisted of a total of 531 silver trams, according to a letter written by Sibilian to Father Simon Antonian. This letter, preserved in the archive of the Vienna Mekhitarist Monastery, was published by Father Gregory Manian, "The Sibilian Letters; Some Excerpts from the Letters of Fr. Clement Sibilian Addressed to Fr. Simon Antonian," ANJ, Vol. IV (1978), pp. 17-28.

[2b] These are the abundant regular trams of Levon I, which show (obverse) the crowned king seated on a throne, wearing royal vestments and holding a cross and globus cruciger, and (reverse) two rampant lions facing a central long cross.

to Garabetian,[3] the majority of the Levon I trams of Venice Mekhitarist collection belong to this hoard. Garabetian also mentions hoards which belong to him and Mr. A. Poladian. About these hoards no publications have yet appeared.[3a]

Sibilian,[4] in his book, also speaks about a hoard discovered between Cilicia and Konya circa 1874, which contained 117 silver coins of the kings Oshin, Levon IV, Guy, Levon the Usurper, and Gosdantin III. Almost 75 years after Sibilian, Garabetian[5] has an interesting article about the hoard of Daphne. Unfortunately, neither of these reports are of great numismatic value because they lack descriptions and legends of each coin.

Recently, a detailed and comprehensive study of two important hoards of Hetoum-Zabel trams was published in the American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes*.[6] Some other hoards are mentioned in the author's *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*.[7]

The detailed investigation of hoards brings forward new data which contributes to the progress of numismatic research. Sibilian,[8] for example, reflecting upon the hoard found near Konya, concludes that coins with the ԼԵՎՈՆ (LEVON) legend belong to the period of Gosdantin III. This anticipated the existence and reign of a king now known as Levon the Usurper. The study of the two Hetoum-Zabel tram hoards made it possible to propose a logical chronological classification for these coins.

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[3] B. Garabetian, "The Ancient Armenian Coin Collection of the St. Lazare Museum in the Venice Mekhitarist Congregation: Roupenian Coins," *Bazmavep*, Vol. CX (1952), Nos. 7-9, pp. 155-168 (in Armenian).

[3a] Several publications on Armenian hoards have since appeared, including *Armenian Coin Hoards* (Los Angeles, 1987), by Paul Z. Bedoukian. This book provides a summary listing of known hoards and the publications in which they have appeared, including most of the hoard of Levon I trams studied by Sibilian (pp. 32-33).

[4] Sibilian, p. 57.

[5] B. Garabetian, "The Coin Hoard of Daphne," *Hask Armenological Annual*, Vol. II (1949-1950), pp. 16-21 (in Armenian).

[6] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "Two Hoards of Hetoum-Zabel Trams," American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes*, Vol. VIII (1958), pp. 145-180, pl. XXXIX.

[7] Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962; Danbury, Connecticut, 1979; also the Armenian edition, Vienna, 1963).

[8] See above, note 4.

There are large volumes devoted to the study of hoards of Greek and Roman coins. It would be desirable to have a similar publication devoted to the coins of the Roupenian period. I am working on this at the present time and I have collected impressions of about 20 hoards, comprising in all a significant group of a few thousand coins.

We know that in 1296, while King Hetoum II and his brother Toros were in Constantinople attending the marriage of their sister Rita to Michael, the son of the Byzantine emperor, a third brother Smpad had been placed in charge of the country. Taking advantage of the situation, Smpad, with the approval of the Catholicos (supreme patriarch) of the Armenian Church and some of the nobles, declared himself the king. When Hetoum and Toros returned from Constantinople, they were arrested by Smpad and imprisoned. Toros was killed while in jail, and Hetoum, whose eyes were seared, was blinded. The next brother, Gosdantin, was so enraged by these acts that he rose against Smpad and defeated him in battle, released Hetoum from captivity, and declared himself king.

Table I. *Catalogue of Smpad silver coin hoard*

No.		Bed. No	Inscriptions	†	Wt	AR	Die
			CORONATION TRAMS OF SMPAD (With Levon I design)				
1.	Obv.	---	ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ		2.74	---	11 Obv.
	Rev.		ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ				
2.	Obv.	---	ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ		---	---	---
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ //////				
3.	Obv.	---	ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ		2.91	90%	7 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՑ				
4.	Obv.	---	same		---	---	
	Rev.		same				6 Rev.
5.	Obv.	---	same		2.41	90%	
	Rev.		same				
6.	Obv.	---	same		2.76	87%	
	Rev.		same				4 Rev.

No.		Bed. No	Inscriptions	†	Wt	AR	Die
			CORONATION TRAMS OF SMPAD				
			(With Levon I design)				
7.	Obv.	---	same	†	---	---	3 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ[Ո]				
8.	Obv.	---	ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅ	†	---	---	
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ				
9.	Obv.	---	ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ	†	2.92	78%	10 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ /				10 Rev.
10.	Obv.	---	same	»	3.03	77%	9 Obv.
	Rev.		same				9 Rev.
11.	Obv.	---	ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ	†	3.02	78%	1 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈ/ԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ/ԾՈ/				
			COMMON TRAMS OF SMPAD				
12.	Obv.	---	ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՈՑ (?)	†	---	---	
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ				
13.	Obv.	1161	ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՈՑ (?)	†	2.67	80%	
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ				
14.	Obv.	1663	ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈ	†	---	---	15 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ				
15.	Obv.	1664	same	†	2.72	73%	14 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ				
16.	Obv.	1664	same	†	---	---	17 Obv.
	Rev.		same				
17.	Obv.	1665	same	†	---	---	16 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ				
18.	Obv.	---	ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ	†	---	---	20 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈ				
19.	Obv.	---	same	†	2.97	75%	21 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ				
20.	Obv.	---	same	†	---	---	18 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒ				
21.	Obv.	---	same	†	2.64	---	19 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ				
22.	Obv.	1673	ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳՐ ՀԱՅ /	†	---	---	23 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ				

No.		Bed. No	Inscriptions	†	Wt	AR	Die
			COMMON TRAMS OF SMPAD				
23.	Obv.	1673	same	†	3.09	81%	22 Obv.
	Rev.		same				
24.	Obv.	1673	ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳՐ ՀԱՅ	†	---	---	25 Obv.
	Rev.		ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾ				25 Rev.
25.	Obv.	1673	same	»	---	---	24 Obv.
	Rev.		same				24 Rev.

Smpad reigned more than two years and struck silver and copper coins. The fact that the silvers are rare today led Sibilian to the conclusion that they were gathered and melted in order to erase the memory of the rebel king.[9] And in fact they are rare; of over 10,000 coins listed in *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (1962), only 41 are silvers of King Smpad.

The silvers of Smpad can be divided into two varieties. The first type, the rarer of the two, very closely resembles the regular trams of Levon I; it depicts on the obverse a crowned king holding a cross in his right hand and a lily in his left hand, seated on a throne decorated with lions on either side. The second variety shows the king carrying a mace which extends over his left shoulder.

As Sibilian points out, Smpad struck coins closely resembling those of Levon I in order to establish the legitimacy of his reign as a successor of Levon. We can regard coins of this type as coronation coins. So far, we know of coronation coins of Levon I and Oshin, but the existence of coronation pieces for the other kings is uncertain.

The present hoard of Smpad contains 11 coronation type silver coins and 14 regular silvers of Smpad, whereas in *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* only 10 of the 41 Smpad silvers are of the coronation type. This hoard thus significantly enlarges the known corpus of Smpad coins.

Especially noteworthy in this group is coin number 1, which is inscribed ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (SMPAD TAKAVOR HAYOTs) on both sides. This appears to be a rare and unique specimen as no

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[9] Sibilian, p. 46.

other examples are recorded. It probably has no special significance and is probably the result of carelessness on the part of the die-cutter. This sort of error can be seen on the coins of other kings, such as some coppers of Hetoum I (*Coinage of Cilician Armenia* corpus numbers 1422-1423), the coppers of Levon III (corpus numbers 1823-1836), the rare silvers of Levon the Usurper (corpus numbers 2161-2163), etc.

From the large number of varieties of (reverse) crosses on the coins of Smpad, we can suppose that he struck large numbers of coins and we can expect several new varieties to surface in the future.

In Table I accompanying this article the coins are arranged in sequence, giving the number, Bedoukian corpus number, obverse and reverse inscriptions, reverse cross design, weight in grams and silver content when available, and die linkages.

The die linkages are of some importance. It is worth noting, for instance, that coin numbers 3 and 7 share the same obverse die, coins 1 and 11 share the same obverse die, and coins 4 and 6 share the same reverse die. Coins 9 and 10 share identical obverse and reverse dies as do coins 23 and 24.[10]

ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐԻՆ ԴՐԱԱՄԱԳԻՒՏԸ

[*Ամփոփում*]

Վերջերս հեղինակին ձեռքը անցաւ Սմբատ Թագաւորին 25 արծաթ դրամներէն բաղկացած գանձ մը, որ իր պարունակութեամբ որոշ դրամագիտական արժէք մը կը ներկայացնէ։ Այս պատճառով կարեւոր և հետաքրքրական նկատուեցաւ զայն ընթերցողներուն ներկայացնելու։

[10] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. XXI (1995), No. 2, pp. 59-62.

Սմբատին ներկայ դրամագիւտը կը պարունակէ 11 *հատ օծման դրամ և* 14 *հատ հասարակ դրամ, իսկ հեղինակին գիրքին քօրփուսին մէջ յիշատակուած* 41 *դրամէն միայն* 10 *հատը օծման դրամ են։ Այսպէսով Սմբատի դրամներուն շարքը մեծապէս կը ճոխանայ այս դրամագիւտով։ Իսկ Սմբատին այս* 25 *արծաթ դրամներուն դրամագիւտ* (hoard) *մը ըլլալը կը բնորոշուի ան տեսակէտէն, թէ անոր մէջ կան մեծաթիւ օրինակներ, որոնք նոյն կնիքով կոխուած են, մինչդեռ մէկ առ մէկ հաւաքուած հարիւրաւոր դրամներուն մէջ հագիւ թէ քանի մը հատ դրամ գտնուի որոնք նոյն տեսակ կնիքով հատանուած ըլլան։*

Հետաքրքրական է նկատել թիւ 1 *դրամը, որուն երկու կողմն ալ գրուած է* ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ։ *Ասիկա իր տեսակէտին մէջ միակն ըլլալով չափազանց հազուագիւտ դրամ մըն է։ Այս զարտուղութիւնը հաւանական է որ մասնաւոր նշանակութիւն մը չունի և արդիւնքն է կնիք քանդակող վարպետին անուշադրութեան։ Այս տեսակ վրիպումներ կը տեսնենք նաև Հեթում Ա-ի և Լևոն Գ-ի պղինձներուն և Լեվոն Բռնակալի թագուորիններուն վրայ։*

Սմբատի արծաթներուն խաչերու մեծաթիւ տեսակները նկատի առնելով կրնանք ենթադրել, թէ այս թագաւորը կոխած է մեծ քանակութեամբ դրամներ և շատ հաւանական է, որ շատ մը օրինակներ մէջտեղ ելլեն ապագային։

Այս յօդուածին ընկերացող աղիւսակին մէջ կը տեսնենք, յաջորդական կարգով, դրամին թիւը, քօրփուսին թիւը՝ եթէ հեղինակին գիրքին մէջ յիշատակուած է այդ տեսակ դրամ մը, Ա. և Բ. կողմի խորագրութիւնները, դրամին կշիռը (կրամով), արծաթին զտութիւնը և Ա. և Բ. կողմին վրայ գործածուած կնիքները։

Այս վերջին կէտը կարևոր է և կ'արժէ շեշտել, թէ թիւ 3 *և* 7 *դրամներուն Ա. կողմը նոյն կնիքէն ելած է, նոյնպէս նոյն կնիքէն ելած են* 1 *և* 11 *դրամներուն ինչպէս նաև* 4 *և* 6 *դրամներուն Բ. կողմը։ Իսկ* 9 *և* 10 *ինպէս նաև* 23 *և* 24 *դրամներուն երկու կողմերն ալ նոյն կնիքէն ելած են։*

TWO UNPUBLISHED COINS OF KING SMPAD OF CILICIAN ARMENIA:

PROPAGANDA IN THE TURBULENT DECADE 1289-1299

(Plate 16)

Notwithstanding* the fact that the coins struck by the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia have been subjected to scientific study,[1] it is encouraging that new coins continue to be discovered which not only enlarge the field of Armenian numismatics, but also cast light on historical events.

Recently, we had at our disposal two unique and unpublished coins of King Smpad (Plate 16), which appear to have been struck hurriedly with the aim of propaganda, to announce to the people that Smpad was king and the lawful successor of King Levon the Great. As we will see, Smpad's successor Gosdantin I also struck coins to announce that he was king, and that he was lord of the fortress of Sis (Plate 16).

To understand the significance of these coins, we must investigate in detail the political events of this period. The years 1289 to 1299 were extremely turbulent ones for Cilicia, and history of this period is clearly reflected in the coinage.

King Levon II died on February 6, 1289, at the age of 57. He was married to the daughter of Hetoum of Lampron, Kir Anna,[1a] and in their 27 years of marriage they had 14 children. Of these, four died

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* Originally published in *Haigazian Armenological Review* of Beirut, Vol. VII (1979), pp. 111-120 (in Armenian). It was translated into English by Levon A. Saryan, Ph.D. A few revisions and updates have been made.

1 Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962; Danbury, Connecticut, 1979; also the Armenian edition, Vienna, 1963).

1a Kir Anna was also known as Keran.

in childhood. Of the sons, Nerses devoted himself to religion, and Alyanak became lord of Lampron. Of Levon's three daughters, Zabel married Amaury, the son of the king of Cyprus; Stefane married a Crusader prince in Greece; and Rita, marrying the crown prince Michael, became the empress of Byzantium. The remaining five sons, Hetoum, Toros, Smpad, Gosdantin, and Oshin, all in turn became rulers of Cilicia.[2]

Following Levon's death, his oldest son Hetoum was elevated to the throne in 1289. Hetoum was a capable individual, and if he had devoted himself wholeheartedly to his royal responsibilities, the situation of Cilicia might have improved. However, he had strong religious tendencies, and did not relish worldly affairs. Although he became king, apparently he did not wish to have an official coronation or anointing. Perhaps for the same reason he did not strike silver coins, contenting himself with rare billons and copper pieces which carry the legend ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (HETOUM TAKAVOR HAYOTs).

The political situation was quite serious. The Mamluks, who in 1291 had captured Acre, had managed to put an end to all remaining Crusader principalities in Syria. As a consequence, the southern borders of Cilicia were exposed to enemy attack.

It is true that Hetoum's father Levon had, in 1285, established an eleven year (ten years, ten months, and ten days) peace treaty with the Mamluk sultan Qalaun;[3] Qalaun's successor al-Ashraf, however, cancelled the agreement and began to attack Cilicia's border towns. Hetoum, seeing the danger, attempted to obtain aid from friendly countries. Hetoum's letters to the Pope have been preserved[4] as well as the Pope's appeals to the Hospitallers and the Knights Templar to aid the Christian Armenians. These appeals had no practical result. Likewise, appeals to the Mongols, who were allies of the

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[2] W. R. Rüdt-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans* (Lisbon, 1963); Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," in *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. II, K. M. Setton, ed. (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 630-660.

[3] Victor Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie ou Cartulaire de la Chancellerie royale des Roupéniens* (Venice, 1863), pp. 217-231.

[4] Victor Langlois, *Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l'Arménie* (St. Petersbourg, Russia, 1860), p. 30.

Armenians, were fruitless, as the Mongols were occupied with their own internal quarrels.

The Mamluks first attacked the castle of Hromkla, the seat of the Catholicos of the Armenian Apostolic Church, which was situated east of the borders of the Cilician kingdom. Despite a determined defense by its Armenian and Mongol defenders,[5] the impregnable castle was captured after a forty-day siege on March 31, 1292. Hetoum did not send aid, perhaps in part because he wanted to transfer the Armenian Catholicosate to Cilician territory and subject it to royal influence. The Mamluks massacred part of the city's population, and Catholicos Stephanos with his bishops was taken prisoner. Armenian historians regard the capture of Hromkla as a great disaster,[6] while Arab chroniclers describe it as a great victory.[7]

It is worth writing a few lines about Hromkla. This castle was situated on the western bank of the Euphrates River, about 200 km east of Sis, the Armenian capital. In the eleventh century, Hromkla (meaning Roman, or Greek, fortress) had belonged to the Armenian princes subject to Philaretus, and later to the Latin Crusader princes of Edessa. In 1149, after the death of her husband, the Armenian wife[7a] of the Crusader prince Joscelyn, feeling insecure, had ceded the castle to the Armenian Catholicos of Dzovk' Gregory Bahlavouni.[8]

Joscelyn's son, who was in Europe, returned to the East to find the county of Edessa in Moslem hands, and decided to sell the castle to the Catholicos. In this way, the Armenian Catholicos became an independent feudal lord, responsible for his own defense. At that time, the Cilician Baron Toros (1144-1168) was heavily engaged in

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[5] W. Muir, *The Mamluke Dynasty of Egypt* (London, 1896), p. 45; also see *History of the Armenian People*, Vol. III (Erevan, 1976), p. 761 (in Armenian).

[6] Malachia Archbishop Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, Vol. II (Beirut, 1960 printing), cols. 1732-1733 (in Armenian); Fr. Ghewond Alishan, *Hayabadoum* (Venice, 1901), pp. 500-502 (in Armenian); V. A. Hakobian, *Minor Chronicles*, Vol. I (Erevan, 1951), pp. 65-101 (in Armenian).

[7] al-Jazari, *La chronique de Damas*, trans. by Sauvaget (Paris, 1949), pp. 15-16.

[7a] She was the daughter of the lord of Vahka, Baron Gosdantin (1092-1099) of Cilician Armenia.

[8] Ormanian, Vol. I (Beirut, 1959), cols. 1374-1377.

fighting against Byzantium and the sultans of Iconium, and did not think it wise to establish the Armenian Catholicosate in Cilicia proper. In this fashion, for 150 years, Hromkla remained a strong and independent Armenian See, and an important center of literature and learning. After the fall of Hromkla, the See was transferred to Sis, where it remained until 1441, after which it was returned to Etchmiadzin.[9]

The Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf decided to invade Cilicia in the following year (1293). Hetoum, seeing that no assistance was forthcoming from the Mongols or the Europeans, sought to establish a truce with al-Ashraf by handing over to him several fortified cities on his border, including Behesni, Marash, and Til-Hamdoun.[10]

On the Mamluk front, however, events took a new turn. al-Ashraf was killed in the same year and his successor, Kitbogha, occupied with internal problems, sought a new agreement with Hetoum, and returned to him the captives from Hromkla.

Hetoum, who preferred religious life to affairs of state, accepted the Catholic rite, and entered the Monastery of Drazark. He became a member of the Franciscan order, and was renamed Brother John.

Hetoum was succeeded by his brother Toros, who apparently ruled in Hetoum's place, since he was never anointed king and did not strike coins in his name.[11]

The political situation demanded the presence of a strong and capable occupant on the throne, but Hetoum's conversion to Catholicism and his decision to become a monk did not satisfy these requirements. Nevertheless, the nobles convinced Hetoum to once again take the helm of the country, and before a year was over, in 1295, Hetoum left the monastery and again ascended the throne of Cilicia.

It was apparent that the Mamluk threat to Cilicia had lessened only temporarily. To save the situation, it was essential to secure outside aid. With this in mind, Hetoum gave his sister Zabel in

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[9] Ormanian, Vol. I, cols. 1387-1389, 1392-1394; A. K. Sukiassian, *History of the Armenian Government and Law of Cilicia* (Erevan, 1978), pp. 60-66 (in Armenian).

[10] al-Makrizi, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte*, 2 vols, trans. by E. M. Quatremere (Paris, 1837-1845), Vol. II, pp. 147-148.

[11] Ormanian, Vol. II, cols. 1754-1756.

marriage to Amaury, brother of the king of Cyprus. Even more important was the Mongol alliance. Hetoum decided to visit Baidu Khan, but while Hetoum was still in Persia, Baidu was toppled by Ghazan Khan who became the new Mongol leader. Hetoum presented himself to Ghazan and renewed the Armeno-Mongol alliance.[12]

Upon his return to Sis, Hetoum was pleased to find that he was awaited by a delegation from the Byzantine emperor Andronicus, who had come to request the hand of Hetoum's sister Rita for the crown prince Michael.[13]

In the following year (1296), Hetoum and his brother Toros travelled to Byzantium to attend the wedding of their sister. Of course, Hetoum also had in mind to request Byzantine aid. During his absence, he named his brother Smpad as his caretaker.

Hetoum's religious fervor, and especially his decision to accept Catholicism, had created opponents in Cilicia. Smpad, taking advantage of the situation, and especially encouraged by Catholicos Gregory Anavarzetsi and some nobles, decided to usurp the throne. He was anointed king in the Church of St. Sophia in Sis, with great ceremony in the presence of many bishops and princes.[14] It is interesting to note that Smpad even received the approval of the Pope for his rule.[15]

Hetoum and Toros, hearing that Smpad had been anointed, quickly returned to Cilicia, but Smpad prevented their entry. The two brothers returned to Constantinople to request the aid of the Byzantine emperor. At this point, Smpad, bearing many gifts, visited Ghazan Khan and succeeded in gaining his approval to rule. On his return, Smpad encountered Hetoum and Toros in the city of Kesaria (Caesaria in central Asia Minor) carrying gifts to Ghazan Khan. Smpad arrested the two brothers and imprisoned them in the

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[12] See *History of the Armenian People*, Vol. III, pp. 761-762.
[13] *ibid.*, p. 762.
[14] Ormanian, Vol. II, cols. 1754-1759; Alishan, p. 225.
[15] Langlois, *Essai historique...*, p. 30.

castle of Partzrpert. Toros was killed, and Hetoum was blinded by searing.[16]

It is apparent that Smpad took these steps because he did not feel secure. It is very interesting to see how he used coinage to strengthen his position. Desiring to show the people that he was the lawful successor of Levon the Great, he immediately struck a coin the obverse of which shows Levon's name and type, and the reverse again Levon's type but with Smpad's name. This unique coin is described below:

No. 1. Silver, 2.75 grams.
Obv.: ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑԱ (LEVON TAKAVOR HAYOTsA)
The king is seated facing on a throne decorated with lions, wearing a crown and royal vestments. In his right hand he holds a cross and in his left hand a lily.
Rev.: ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (SMPAD TAKAVOR HAYOTs).
Two rampant lions facing each other, with a cross between.

No. 2. Silver, 2.56 grams.
Obv.: ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (SMPAD TAKAVOR HAYOTs).
Like No. 1, a king is seated on a throne, except with a footstool under the king's feet.
Rev.: ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (SMPAD TAKAVOR HAYOTs).
Coin No. 2 shares the same reverse die as coin No. 1.

There is no question that coin No. 1 was struck immediately after Smpad's coronation, perhaps utilizing an old die of Levon I which was found at the mint. It is apparent that the obverse of coin No. 1 greatly resembles coins attributed to the final period of Levon I. The reverse, which is also of the Levon type but with Smpad's name, indicates that Smpad made a special effort to win over the people.

The fact that both coins 1 and 2 are struck with the same reverse die indicates that these coins followed each other in close chronolog-

16 Samouel Anetsi, *Collection of Historical Writings* (Vagharshapat, 1893), p. 154 (in Armenian); Ormanian, Vol. II, cols. 1754-1759; H. T. Nalpantian, *Arab Sources on Armenia and Neighboring Countries* (Erevan, 1965), pp. 240-242 (in Armenian).

ical succession. The obverse of coin No. 2 carries Smpad's name, and its type is reminiscent of the trams of Levon I.

It is interesting that these two coins were followed by several coins of similar style, which carry Smpad's name on the obverse and the accepted ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ (GAROGhOUTPN ASDOU-DzOY) legend on the reverse. Thereafter, Smpad struck several new silvers in which the king is seen carrying a mace in his left hand.

Smpad ruled for more than two years, although for a shorter period as an anointed king. It is understandable that during his short rule he was only able to strike a small quantity of silver coins. For this reason his coins are quite rare.

Smpad might have been able to rule for a longer period had political conditions been more favorable. Even during the first year of his reign, the Egyptian Mamluks invaded and pillaged Armenia a few times.[17]

These events, including the murder of Toros, gave the next brother Gosdantin an opportunity to gather sympathizers and in 1298 revolt against Smpad. The two brothers fought near Sis, and Gosdantin was victorious. Smpad tried to escape, but was captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Dolevon, where Hetoum was also being held.[18] It is not certain whether or not Gosdantin was anointed king, but it is interesting to note that he took special care with his coinage, in order to inform the people of his rule.

Gosdantin also used coins as a medium of propaganda.[18a] He struck coins in gold, silver, and copper, as follows:

No. 3. Gold, 3.6 grams [Venice Mekhitarist Museum collection].
Obv.: ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՅՈՑ (GOSDUNTIN TK HAYOTs). The king riding horseback to right. In his right hand he holds a sword, in his left he holds the reins of the horse.

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[17] Ormanian, Vol. II, cols. 1759-1761; Nalpantian, p. 242.

[18] *ibid.*

[18a] On the coins of Gosdantin, see Paul Z. Bedoukian, "The Coinage of Gosdantin I (1298-1299) of Cilician Armenia," *Handes Amsorya*, Vol. LXXII (October 1958), No. 10, pp. 381-390 (in Armenian); also Y. T. Nercessian, "Inventory of Gosdantin I Trams," ANJ, Vol. XIV (June 1988), No. 2, pp. 12-15.

Rev.: ՍՍՈՅ ԲԵՐԴՆ Է ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ (SSOY PERTN E TAKAVOR). The depiction is of a castle with three towers.

This gold coin or presentation piece announces that Gosdantin, not Smpad, is the master of Sis. Of Gosdantin's gold pieces only two are known, both from the same dies. One is kept by the Mekhitarists of Venice, and the other is in the Istanbul Museum.

Interestingly, Basmadjian[19] gives the description and drawing of a second type of gold coin (with a slightly different design), the location of which is not known.[20]

No. 4. Silver, 2.6 grams.
Obv.: ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ (GOSDUNTIN TAKAVOR HAYO). The king riding on horseback, etc., similar to the obverse of coin No. 3.
Rev.: ԿԱՐՈՂՈԻԹԲՆ ԱՅ Է ԹԱԳՈՐ (GAROGhOUTPN AY E TAKOR). The king standing, wearing a crown and royal vestments, holding a sword in his right hand and a cross in his left hand. Silver coins with inscription varieties exist.

Once again, Gosdantin indicates by this depiction that it was by the power of the sword that he ascended the royal throne.

No. 5. Copper, 2.7 grams.
Obv.: ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻԱՆՈՍ ԹԱԳ (GOSDANTIANOS TAK). The king is standing with a sword and a cross, as on the reverse of coin No. 4.
Rev.: ՇԻՆԵԼ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ Է (SHINEL KAGHAKN SIS E). A cross with equal length arms. Copper coins with inscription varieties exist.

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19 K. J. Basmadjian, *Numismatique générale de l'Arménie* (Venice, 1936) (in Armenian).

20 Paul. Z. Bedoukian, "In Search of an Armenian Gold Coin," ANJ, Vol. II (December 1976), Nos. 3-4, pp. 22-27; also by the same author "Some Obscure Pages of Armenian Numismatics," *Bazmavep*, Vol. CXXX (1972), Nos. 2-3, pp. 291-302 (in Armenian).

Because Gosdantin ruled for less than a year, his silver coins are extremely rare, and his copper coins are rare. The coins are nevertheless artistically well-executed. It is apparent that he too devoted considerable attention to his coinage as a means of propaganda.

Unfortunately, the political situation deteriorated considerably. In the spring of 1298, the Mamluks invaded Cilicia, but could not capture the castles. In the month of June, they returned with a larger force and captured the castle of Hamous, and the important border post of Til-Hamdoun.[21] Gosdantin was forced to agree to harsh terms, handing over to the Mamluks all the fortresses south of the Jihan River—Hamous, Til-Hamdoun, Sarvantikar, and Marash.[22]

The Armenian princes, seeing that Gosdantin was unable to defend the country, once again persuaded Hetoum (who had recovered sight in one of his eyes) to resume rule of Cilicia. Worried about the developing events, Gosdantin released Smpad from prison and the two brothers rose against Hetoum. This time, the princes, as well as the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers, stood behind Hetoum, and won the contest. Hetoum arrested his two brothers and exiled them to Constantinople, where they remained until their death.[23]

The last period of Hetoum's reign began in 1299. In the same year, the Mongol leader Ghazan Khan invaded Syria, and Hetoum, as his ally, came to the Khan's aid. The unified army destroyed the Mamluks, and by the month of December reached Jerusalem.

As a result of these victories, Hetoum recovered the lost Cilician fortresses which had been handed over to the Mamluks.[24] Thus came to an end a very turbulent period of Armenian history, and a very interesting one for Armenian numismatics.[25]

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[21] D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, Vol. IV (Amsterdam, 1821), p. 14.
[22] Nalpantian, p. 242.
[23] Ormanian, Vol. II, cols. 1761-1762.
[24] Nalpantian, p. 244.
[25] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. XXI (1995), No. 2, pp. 63-68.

ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐԻ ԵՐԿՈՒ ԱՆՏԻՊ ԴՐԱՄՆԵՐԸ

[Ամփոփում]

Հեղինակին հաւաքածոյէն, երկու եզակի և անտիպ դրամներ, հատանուած Սմբատ Թագաւորին (1296-1298) *կողմէ, կը պատկերացնեն այս շրջանի պատմական կացութիւնը։ Հեթում Բ իր եղբօրը Թորոսին հետ մեկնեցաւ Կ. Պոլիս ներկայ ըլլալու իրենց քրոջ Ռիթային ամուսնութեան Բիւզանդիոնի գահաժառանգ Միքայէլին։ Իր բացակայութեան իրեն տեղակալ կարգեց իր յաջորդ եղբօր՝ Սմբատին։ Սմբատ օգտագործելով պատեհութիւնը, սիրաշահեցաւ կաթողիկոսն ու կղերականութիւնը և ազնուականութիւնը, գրաւեց գահը և թագաւոր օծուեցաւ* 1296 *թ. Սիս մայրաքաղաքի Ս. Սոֆիա տաճարին մէջ։ Հետաքրքրական է նշել նաև, թէ Սմբատ ստացաւ Հռոմի պապին հաւանութիւնը իր գահակալութեան համար։*

Իր թագաւորութիւնը օրինակացնելու համար, իր տպած դրամներուն վրայ ան ժողովուրդին կը յայտարարէ, թէ Սմբատ թագաւոր է և օրինաւոր ժառանգորդը Մեծն Լևոնին։ Սմբատին հապճեպով կոխած դրամները, կը նմանին Լևոն Ա-ի դրամներու տիպերուն։ Նոյն իսկ Լևոնին անունը արձանագրուած է իր կոխած դրամին վրայ՝ ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑԱ/ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ, *անկասկած օգտագործելով Լևոն Ա թագաւորին հին կնիքները։ Իր կտրած այլ դրամի մը վրայի շրջագրութիւնն է* ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ/ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ: *Իր աւելի ուշ թողարկած հասարակ արծաթ դրամներուն ետին, Լևոն Ա-ի նման, արձանագրուած է* ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ: *Սմբատ իշխեց աւելի քան երկու տարի, թէև աւելի կարճ ժամանակ՝ իբր օծուած թագաւոր։ Հասկնալի է որ կարճ թագաւորութեան մը շրջանին ան կարողացաւ հատանել միայն փոքրաքանակ թիւով դրամներ, և այս պատճառով Սմբատի դրամները բաւական հազուագիւտ են։*

Իրմէ ետք, Կոստանդին Ա բռնագրաւեց գահը։ Կոստանդին ալ Սմբատին նման գործածեց իր դրամները իբր փրոփականտայի միջոց։ Իր ոսկի դրամին վրայ արձանագրուած է ԿՈՍՏԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԳ ՀԱՅՈՑ/ՍՍՈՅ ԲԵՐԴՆ Է ԹԱԳԱՒՐ:

Այս յօդուածով կ'ուսումնասիրուին Սմբատ ու Կոստանդին թագաւորներու դրամները, որոնք հատանուած են պատմական խռովալից շրջանի մը միջոցին ու առաւելագոյնս օգտագործուած օրինականացնելու համար իրենց տիրակալութիւնը։

A HOARD OF CORONATION TRAMS OF OSHIN

(Plate 17)

When I was* in Paris a few years ago, I visited the well-known professional numismatist Mrs. Nadia Kapamadji, who showed me a hoard of coronation trams of Oshin, the king of Cilician Armenia from 1308-1320. Mrs. Kapamadji kindly placed the entire collection at my disposal for the purpose of research.[a] The time and place of discovery of the hoard remains unknown. The hoard originally consisted of 129 pieces, twelve of which were already sold. This article is therefore based on the study of the remaining 117 pieces.

The existence of coronation coins among the regular trams of the Roupenian kings is very interesting, although it sometimes presents an enigma which cannot be satisfactorily resolved.

It is understandable that, when Prince Levon II (1186-1198 A.D.) was anointed king in 1198 and established a new dynasty, he struck coronation coins to immortalize that historical event, and show his people and the world that he had been anointed king. On the obverse[1] of some of his coronation coins we see Levon on his knees be-

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* Originally published in *Haigazian Armenological Review*, Vol. IV (1973), pp. 81-96. It was translated into English by Levon A. Saryan, Ph.D. A few revisions and updates are reflected in the footnotes.

[a] [Mrs. Nadia Kapamadji (Nvart Kapamadjian) was a prominent coin dealer and collector in Paris for several decades. Her collection was published by Serge Boutin, *Monnaies des Empires de Byzance*, 2 volumes (Maastricht, 1983), and placed for sale at auction *Numismatique: Collection N. K.* (Paris, October 27-29, 1992). The collection contained 31 Oshin coronation trams (coins #1354 to 1384) and sale included 27 coronation trams offered in five lots (#931 to #935). Many if not all of these trams originated from this hoard.—LAS]

[1] Since specific terms do not exist in the Armenian language to describe the obverse and reverse of a coin, it is proposed that the words *agoghm* (side A) and *begoghm* (side B) be used for the terms obverse and reverse respectively. In the past, the term k'orp'us (corpus) was proposed to describe a complete collection of literary works, and now this term is commonly used in Armenian numismatic writing.

fore Christ, while a dove descends from heaven above; on others, rays of light descend to bless the event. On the reverse we see two lions back to back, facing each other, with a long cross standing between them.

It is accepted that Levon struck these coins during the first year of his rule as king. They are comparatively scarce[2] and in the author's book, of over 4000 silver coins of Levon I only 120 are of the coronation type.[3] This comparison supports the opinion that Levon's coronation coins were struck for only a limited period at the beginning of his reign.

Levon's successors Hetoum I and Levon II did not strike coronation trams.

When Levon II died in 1289, he was succeeded by his son Hetoum II. Capable individual though he was, Hetoum preferred the religious life and in 1293 handed the throne over to his next brother Toros. Toros ruled as the king's representative but not as king, and for that reason did not strike any coins in his name.

In 1296, Hetoum II and Toros travelled to Constantinople to attend the wedding of their sister to the son of the Byzantine emperor. In their absence, the next brother Smpad declared himself king. We don't know by what means he was able to obtain the approval of both the Catholicos [the supreme patriarch of the Armenian Church, LAS] and the Great Mongol Khan Prince Ghazan for this act. When the two older brothers returned from Constantinople, Smpad had them thrown into prison, then had Toros killed and Hetoum blinded by searing his eyes.

A fourth brother, Gosdantin, finding Smpad's actions intolerable, revolted against Smpad and succeeded in capturing and imprisoning him. Hetoum was released from prison, but because he was blind he permitted Gosdantin to rule. Shortly thereafter, however, Hetoum regained his sight, and the people and nobles preferred to have their

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[2] I am informed that lately a large hoard containing 3500 Levon I coronation trams has been discovered. This news is not yet confirmed. [Bedoukian later studied and published a hoard of over 800 such trams. See Paul Z. Bedoukian, "A Large Hoard of Coronation Trams of Levon I," *Handes Amsorya,* Vol. 90 (1976), pp. 409-440; also in SNS [I], pp. 302-317—LAS]

[3] Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962), pp. 139-144.

lawful king seated on the throne. They united behind Hetoum and succeeded in defeating Gosdantin and Smpad. The two usurpers were exiled to Constantinople where they remained until their death.

We know that Hetoum II did not strike silver trams, but satisfied himself with copper and small billon coins.

It is interesting to note that both Smpad and Gosdantin struck attractive silver trams of high silver purity. The trams of both were heavier and contained more silver than the later trams of Levon II. Likewise, they were considerably higher in weight and silver content than those of Hetoum II's successor Levon III. Gosdantin also struck gold coins.

The trams of Smpad resemble those of Levon I, perhaps because he wished to inform the Armenian people that he was Levon's worthy successor. Smpad's trams are of two types. On the obverse of one we see the king seated on a throne decorated with lions, holding a cross in his right hand and a lily in his left hand, just like on the trams of Levon I. On the second type the same picture is on the obverse, except that in the king's left hand we see a double-edged axe (or mace) resting on his shoulder. On the reverse of both types are Levon's twin lions, with a long double cross. The weights and specific gravities[4] of the two types do not differ significantly from each other. Consequently, we cannot say with certainty that the first type is a coronation tram and the second, a regular tram.

The following measurements were taken from clean coins of each type in the author's collection:

Smpad trams resembling the regular trams of Levon I

Coin No.	Weight (grams)	Specific Gravity
1.	2.9100	10.32
2.	3.0209	10.30
3.	2.7473	9.70

[4] The specific gravity of a silver coin indicates its silver content. Silver coins are mostly a mixture of silver and copper; in such a mixture a coin with a specific gravity of 10.35 contains approximately 92% silver, while a coin of specific gravity 9.95 contains barely 70% silver.

Smpad trams with the double-edged axe

Coin No.	Weight (grams)	Specific Gravity
1.	2.5905	10.10
2.	2.6780	9.85
3.	3.0056	10.20
4.	2.3732	9.80
5.	3.0900	10.17

The silver coins of Gosdantin I are generally of good quality, but since they are very rare it is not possible to list here their weights and specific gravities.

It has already been noted that the trams of Smpad and Gosdantin are of higher weight and silver content than the trams of the later period of Levon II. It is likely that the two usurper kings made an attempt to improve the quality of the silver coinage which was in circulation in the country.

It can be seen that silver coins of Levon III (1301-1307) suffered a decline both in terms of weight and silver content. Most of the succeeding kings gradually reduced the weight and silver content of their coins. This is easily explained as a consequence of the deteriorating political situation, and reflects the country's failing economy.

Under these conditions it is surprising to find, among the many silver coins of Oshin, a series of rare trams which resemble in appearance the regular silver trams of King Levon I, and are also equivalent to Levon's trams in terms of weight and silver content. As recently as 1962, these coins were rare; of the more than 200 silver coins of Oshin catalogued in the author's book,[5] only 13 were of this coronation tram type. [The bulk of Oshin's silver coinage is of the type obverse: king riding on horseback to right, reverse: lion walking to right with cross. These coins, called takvorins, contain substantially less silver than the trams.—LAS]

In recent years, thousands more Roupenian coins have been discovered including many coins of Oshin. In 1967, a small 17 piece hoard of Oshin coronation trams passed through this writer's hands. The weights and specific gravities of several clean Oshin trams from

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[5] Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, pp. 353-364.

this hoard, clean Oshin trams from the author's collection, and Oshin takvorins from the author's collection are given below:

Oshin coronation trams from the author's small hoard

Coin No.	Weight (grams)	Specific Gravity
1.	2.8819	9.940
2.	2.9264	9.800
3.	2.9641	9.800
4.	2.9021	10.050
5.	2.9446	10.035
6.	2.8250	10.200

Oshin coronation trams from the author's collection

Coin No.	Weight (grams)	Specific Gravity
7.	2.6300	10.60
8.	2.6723	10.21
9.	2.9676	10.30
10.	2.9797	10.27
11.	2.8667	10.04

Regular Oshin takvorins from the author's collection

Coin No.	Weight (grams)	Specific Gravity
1.	2.4116	9.30
2.	2.4386	9.40
3.	2.1331	8.90
4.	2.3770	9.50
5.	2.3651	9.46
6.	2.3696	9.10
7.	2.4982	9.63
8.	2.2198	9.61

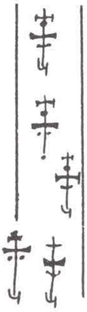
It can bee seen that there is a considerable difference between Oshin trams and Oshin takvorins both in terms of weight and silver fineness. Unquestionably, these two types were not regarded as the same type of coin and had different values in the marketplace. In fact, if we compute the average silver content of the coronation trams, we see that each contained on the average 2.3 grams of sil-

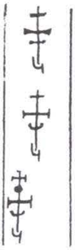
ver, while the takvorins contained an average of 1.2 grams. Thus, the trams had about twice the value of more common takvorins.

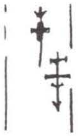
The question arises as to why Oshin struck high quality coronation trams. He could have struck coins of the takvorin specifications with the types of Levon I, and this way would have conserved the silver bullion of the royal treasury while still announcing his coronation. Consequently, there must have been other reasons for striking coins with the specifications of the trams of Levon and Hetoum-Zabel.

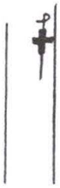
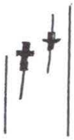
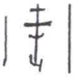
CATALOGUE OF THE COIN HOARD

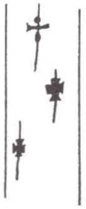
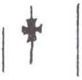
No.	Reverse Inscription	Reverse Cross	Same Die
	(All obverses are from the same die. x = all are from the 17-piece coin hoard)		
	ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ Է˙* (Letter Ց in l. obverse field to l. side of cross)		
1	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԲ ԱԾ Է		18, 19, 20, 1, 89, 90, 91, 92
2	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱԾՈՅ		
3	» »		3, 3x, 101
3x	» »		»
4	» »		
5	» ԱՍՏ		5, 23a
6	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ Է		6, 7, 8, 66a, 116a, 100, 104, 105, 106
7	» » »		»
8	» » »		»
9x	ԿԱՐՈՐՈՒԹԲ ԱԾՈ׀		9x, 103b, 107
9	» ԱԾՈ		9, 103c
	ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ Է˙ (Without letter Ց)		
10	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ		10, 11, 96, 97, 98, 99x, 110, 111
11	» »	»	»
12	» »	»	8, 80, 81, 82, 83

No.	Reverse Inscription	Reverse Cross	Same Die
ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ Է˙ (Without letter Յ)			
13	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ	»	13, 14, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62
14	» »	»	»
15	» ԱՅ Է		15, 15x, 34, 35, 36
15x	» »		»
16	» »		16, 95
17	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱԲ ԱԾՈՅ		17, 86
18	» ԱԾ Է		1, 18, 19, 20, 89, 90, 91, 92
19	» »		»
20	» »		»
21	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՍՏ		21, 85
22	» ԱՍՏ		
23	» ԱՍՏ |?	»	23, 37, 38, 47, 102
23a	» ԱՍՏ		5, 23a
ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (A dot above l. lion)			
24	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ ԱՅ Է		24, 25, 40
25	» » »		»
26	» » »		26, 27, 28, 45, 46, 50, 51, 52, 53, 53x
27	» » »		»
28	» » »		»
29	» » »		
30	» » »	»	30, 42, 43, 44, 49
(No dot above lion)			
31	» » »		31, 32, 33
32	» » »		»
33	» » »		»
34	» » »		15, 15x, 34, 35, 36
35	» » »		»
36	» » »		»
37	» » »		23, 37, 38, 47, 54, 102
38	» » »		»
39	» » »		

No.	Reverse Inscription		Reverse Cross	Same Die
ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (No dot above l. lion)				
40	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ	ԱՅ Է		24, 25, 40
41	»	» »		41, 48
ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ				
42	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ	ԱՅ Է		30, 42, 43, 44, 49
43	»	» »		»
44	»	» »		»
45	»	» »		26, 27, 28, 45, 46, 50, 51, 52, 53, 53x
46	»	» »		
47	»	» »		47, 27, 28, 84, 108, 41, 48
48	»	» »	»	»
49	»	» »	»	
(Same obverse with different die)				
50	»	» »		
51	»	» »		51, 52, 53, 53x, 54, 28, 26, 27, 45, 46
52	»	» »		»
53	»	» »		»
53x	»	» »		»
53x	»	» »		»
53x	»	» »		»
54	»	» »		23, 37, 38, 54, 47, 102
55	»	» »		55, 30, 42, 43, 44, 49
56	»	ԱՍՏ		
ԱՒՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ				
57	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ	ԱԾՈՅ		57, 57x
57x	»	»		»
58	»	ԱՍՏ		13, 14, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62
59	»	»		»
60	»	»		»
61	»	»		»
62	»	»		»

No.	Reverse Inscription		Reverse Cross	Same Die
ԱԻԾԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ				
63	»	ԱՍՏՈ		63, 94
64	»	ԱՅ Է		64, 65, 67, 68
65	»	»		»
66	»	ԱԾՈՅ		
66a	»	ԱԾՈՅ Է		6, 7, 8, 66a, 100, 104, 105, 106, 116a
ԱԻԾԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ				
67	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ	ԱՅ Է		64, 65, 67, 68
68	»	»		»
69	»	ԱՍՏ		
ԱԻԾԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ				
70	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ	ԱԾՈ		70, 71
71	»	»		»
72	»	ԱՅՈ		72, 116
73	»	ԱԾՈ |		
74	»	ԱԾՈՅ |	»	
ԱԻԾԻՆ ԹԱԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ				
75	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ	ԱՍՏ |		75, 76, 77, 78, 93
76	»	»		»
77	»	»		»
78	»	»		»
79	»	»		
80	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ	ԱՍՏ		80, 81, 82, 83
81	»	»		»
82	»	»		»
83	»	»		»
84	»	»		
85	»	»		21, 85
ԱԻԾԻՆ ԹԱԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ				
86	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԲ	ԱԾՈ		17, 86
87	»	»		87, 88
88	»	»		»
89	»	ԱԾ |		1, 18, 19, 20, 89, 90, 91, 92

No.	Reverse Inscription	Reverse Cross	Same Die
ԱԻՇԻՆ ԹԱԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ			
90	ԿԱՐՈՂՈԻԹԵԱՄԲ ԱԾ|		»
91	» »		»
92	» »		»
93	» ԱՍՏ|		75, 76, 77, 78, 93
94	» ԱՍՏՈ		63, 94
ԱԻՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ			
95	ԿԱՐՈՂՈԻԹԲՆ ԱՅ Է		
96	» ԱՍՏ		98, 98x, 97, 98x, 96, 110, 111
97	» »		»
98	» »		»
98x	» »		»
98x	» »		»
99	» »		5x, 99
ԱԻՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (Letter Յ at the l. side of cross)			
100	» ԱԾՈՅ Է		3, 3x, 6, 7, 8, 66a, 100, 104, 105,106
101	» ԱԾՈՅ		
101x	» ԱՍՏ		
ԱԻՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ			
102	ԿԱՐՈՂՈԻԹԲՆ ԱՅ Է		23, 37, 38, 47, 102
ԱԻՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ			
103	ԿԱՐՈՂՈԻԹԲՆ ԱՍՏՈ|		
ԱԻՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ (Letter Յ at the l. side of cross)			
103a	ԿԱՐՈՂՈԻԹԲՆ ԱԾՈՅ		4, 103a
103b	» ԱԾՈ|		103b, 107, 5x
103c	» ԱԾՈ		9, 103c
ԱԻՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (Ligatured ՈՐ and letter Յ in the field)			
104	ԿԱՐՈՂՈԻԹԲՆ ԱԾՈՅ Է		6, 7, 8, 100, 104, 105,106, 66a, 116a
105	» » »		»
106	» » »		»

No.	Reverse Inscription		Reverse Cross	Same Die
ԱԻԾԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (Ligatured Ր and letter Յ in the field)				
107	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ	ԱԾՈ।		5x, 103b, 107
108	»	»		
109	»	ԱԾՈ'		
109x	»	»		
110	»	ԱՍՏ		10, 11, 96, 97, 98, 99x, 110, 111
111	»	»		»
112	»	ԱԾՈ'		
ԱԻԾԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՐ ՀԱՅՈ' (Letter Յ at the l. side of cross)				
113	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ	ԱՅՈՅ		113, 114
114	»	»		»
115	»	»	»	
116	»	ԱՅՈ		72, 116
116a	»	ԱԾՈՅ Է		6, 7, 8, 100, 104, 105, 106, 116a, 66a
ԱԻԾԻՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ' (The blessing r. hand above the cross)				
117	ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԲՆ	ԱՅ Է		

We know that during the Roupenian era Armenian coins did not always have the same value. Merchants and money changers determined the value of coins according to their precious metal (silver or gold) content.

In medieval documents, we encounter references to three distinct types of Armenian coins: *Bissancios Stauratos* (cross trams), *Daremos Novos* (new trams), and *Taccolini* (takvorins). It has been established that the first term refers to the silver trams of Levon I and Hetoum-Zabel, which have a long cross in the designs.[6] These coins contain 90% [or more, LAS] silver and weigh about 2.90 grams. Thus they contain about 2.60 grams of silver per coin. The

[6] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "The Identity of the Coins of Cilician Armenia Known as 'Bissancios Stauratos'," *Handes Amsorya,* Vol. 73 (1959), pp. 241-250; also in SNS [I], pp. 339-343 (in Armenian).

silver coins of Levon II were of lesser quality and called "new trams"; they weighed about 2.60 grams and contained about 70% silver by weight. Their silver content was close to 1.8 grams per coin. Beginning with Levon III, the silver coins again suffered a reduction in silver content and were called takvorins. Their market value was determined on the basis of their silver content.[7]

The silver content of Smpad long cross trams *(Bissancios Stauratos)* was around 2.0 to 2.3 grams per coin. Smpad apparently made an attempt to re-establish the standards which prevailed at the time of Levon I and Hetoum-Zabel. It seems that Gosdantin tried likewise. Levon III was obviously unable to maintain the same standards; his takvorins contain barely 1.3 grams of silver per coin.

When Oshin ascended the throne in 1308, three kinds of silver coins were in use in Cilician markets with three different values. Numerous medieval documents are in existence corroborating this point.[8] It seems that Oshin established his *Bissancios Stauratos* or long cross trams as a specific type of coin, perhaps during the first year of his reign. In any event, the number of these coins struck must have been small, since most of his silvers are takvorins resembling those of his predecessor King Levon III, and his successor King Levon IV.

In conclusion, it is apparent that coins bearing a long cross have a high intrinsic value. They were struck by Levon I, Hetoum-Zabel, Smpad, and in small quantity by Oshin.

There appears to be no reason to call these coins of Oshin coronation trams. No other king of the Roupenian dynasty struck coronation trams, except Levon I, whose purpose it was to announce the inauguration of a new dynasty.

Whether we call these coins coronation trams or long-cross trams (*Bissancios Stauratos*), the hoard under discussion is important in that it illuminates one of the dark pages of Armenian numismatics.[9]

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[7] Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, p. 126.

[8] Victor Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie ou Cartulaire de la Chancellerie royale des Roupéniens* (Venice, 1863).

[9] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. XXIII (1997), No. 1, pp. 3-11, pl. I.

ՕՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐԻՆ ՕԾՄԱՆ ԱՐԾԱԹՆԵՐՈՒ ԴՐԱՄԱԳԻՒՏ ՄԸ

[Ամփոփում]

Օշին թագաւորին 129 *օծման դրամներու գանձին ուսումնասիրութիւնը առաջադրեց որոշ եզրակացութիւններ, թէ ինչո՞ւ Օշին հատանեց այս բարձրորակ հազուագիւտ դրամները։*

Կային որոշ պատճառներ, որ Օշին թագաւորն ալ Լեւոն Ա-ի կամ Հեթում-Զապէլի կշիռով և որակով դրամներ հատանեց։ Գիտենք որ Ռուբինեան շրջանին հայկական դրամները միշտ նոյն արժէքը չեն ունեցած։ Վաճառականները և լումայափոխները դրամներուն արժէքը կ՚որոշէին անոնց ոսկիի կամ արծաթի պարունակութեան համեմատ։ Այնպէս որ չուկայի արժէքները հիմնուած էին ոսկիին կամ արծաթին վրայ։

Երբ Օշին գահ բարձրացաւ 1308 *թուականին, շուկայի վրայ շրջանառութեան մէջ էին երեք տեսակ հայկական արծաթ դրամներ, երեք տարբեր արժէքներով։ Ժամանակակից բազմաթիւ փաստաթուղթեր կան, որոնք կը հաստատեն այս տեսակէտը։ Այնպէս կ՚երեւի թէ Օշին հատանեց իր* Bissancios Stauratos *կամ խաչանիշ դրամները իբր որոշ տեսակի դրամներ և կը ջանար վերահաստատել նախկին Լեւոն Ա-ի և Հեթում-Զապէլի դրամական դրութիւնը, թերեւս իր թագաւորութեան առաջին տարուան ընթացքին, բայց ամէն պարագային՝ քիչ քանակով, իսկ իր դրամներուն մեծամասնութիւնը թագուորին էին, նմանութեամբ իր նախորդին՝ Լեւոն Գ-ի, և կամ իրեն յաջորդող Լեւոն Դ-ի թագուորիններուն։*

Եզրակացնելով կրնանք ըսել ուրեմն թէ երկար խաչով դրամները բարձր արժէք ներկայացնող որոշ դրամներ էին, որոնք հատանուեցան Լեւոն Ա-ի, Հեթում-Զապէլի, Սմբատի և քիչ քանակութեամբ վերջին անգամ Օշինի կողմէ։

Օշինի այս դրամագիւտը՝ ըլլայ օծման դրամներու, կամ խաչանիշներու (Bissancios Stauratos) *գանձ մը, մեծ արժէք կը ներկայացնէ և կը լուսաբանէ մեր դրամագիտութեան պատմութեան մութ էջերէն մէկը։*

HALF TRAMS OF OSHIN AND LEVON IV OF CILICIAN OF ARMENIA

(Plate 18)

This report concerns the discovery of two half trams of Oshin (1308-1320) and a unique half tram of Levon IV (1320-1342) of Cilician Armenia. Of the estimated fifty thousand coins of Cilician Armenia in existence in museums and private collections, fewer than three hundred are half trams. In the author's corpus[1] published in 1962, over ten thousand coins are listed, of which only 116 are half trams. All but one belong to the first three kings, namely, Levon I, Hetoum-Zabel, and Levon II. The very small number of half trams which have been found can be attributed to a limited usage for this denomination and to a poor survival rate because of their small size.

It is interesting to review the numismatic literature on the subject. The first treatise on Armenian coins was published by Brosset[2] in 1839. The author makes no reference to half trams. In his classic work on medieval Armenian coins in 1855, Langlois[3] noted only one half tram of Levon I and one of Hetoum-Zabel. The most authoritative book on Roupenian coins appearing in the nineteenth century was published in 1892 by Father Sibilian.[4] In this volume, the editor, Father Kalemkiarian, gave an inventory of the rich collection of coins in the Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna. The Museum had 346 silver coins of Levon I, of which four were half trams; 295 silver

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[1] Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962; Armenian edition, Vienna, 1963).

[2] M. Brosset, *Monographie des monnaies arménienne* (St. Petersbourg, 1839).

[3] Victor Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1855).

[4] Fr. C. Sibilian, *Classification of Roupenian Coins* (Vienna, 1892), written in 1877, but published with extensive additions by Fr. K. Kalemkiarian (in Armenian).

coins of Hetoum-Zabel, including eleven half trams; 68 silver trams of Levon II, with five half trams.

Because of the paucity of half trams from these three rulers who represented the most prosperous period of Cilician Armenia, and the absence of any half trams from succeeding kings, it appeared that with the decline of the power of the Roupenians, the striking of half trams ceased completely.

Levon II died in 1287. Nine of his eleven children were alive at the time of his death—five sons and four daughters. His sons fought among each other and at one time or another each managed to occupy the throne. One of his daughters, Zabel, married the brother of the king of Cyprus. Rita became the empress of Byzantium. His two other daughters married Crusader princes. His eldest son, Hetoum II, really preferred a monastic life to that of governing the country, and perhaps for that reason struck only small billons and copper coins. There are no silver coins of Hetoum II, and it follows that no silver half trams were struck by him.

In 1296, when Hetoum left for Constantinople to attend the wedding of his sister to Michael, the son of Andronicus Palaelogus, Smpad declared himself king and usurped the throne. In an effort to legitimize his claim to the throne, he struck fine silver trams similar to those struck by Levon I.[5] Until the appearance of the author's corpus in 1962, no half trams of Smpad were known. In the course of his preparation for the book, the author found a single specimen of a half tram in the Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna and included it in his publication. Since then, another specimen has been found and is now in the writer's collection. A third specimen was in the late Mrs. Nadia Kapamadji's collection.[6] It is noteworthy that Smpad's half tram, unlike those of the previous rulers, is not just a small version of the tram. Instead of showing the king on the obverse, it shows an inverted lily. On the reverse is a lion walking right with a cross, similar to the reverses of the trams of his father, Levon II.

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[5] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "Two Unpublished Coins of King Smpad," *Haigazian Armenological Review*, Vol. VII (1979), pp. 111-120 (in Armenian).

[6] In the collection of the late Mrs. N. Kapamadji (Paris). [S. Boutin, *Collection N. K.: Monnaies des Empires de Byzance, ... Monnaies de l'Arménie Artaxiate et de l'Arménie Cilicienne* (Maastricht, Netherlands, 1983), p. 169, No. 1337, pl. LXIX.]

Smpad was dethroned by his brother, Gosdantin I, who likewise usurped the throne during the continued absence of Hetoum II. To popularize his rule, he struck beautiful coins in gold, silver, and copper. One would expect that he issued half trams. Hopefully, one will be found before too long.

Eventually, in 1301, Hetoum II appointed his nephew, Levon III, to become the legitimate king of Cilician Armenia. With the destruction of the Crusader principalities, his kingdom was left open to the determined attacks of the powerful Mamluks of Egypt. Levon III struck a large number of debased silver coins called takvorins. He may have issued half trams as well, but none has come to light.

In 1936, Basmadjian[7] published his general treatise on the coinage of Armenia. Although he added little to the existing knowledge, he brought together much useful information. Unfortunately, he made a number of assertions without substantiating them. For example, he lists some coins of Levon III as being half trams, when they were actually takvorins. He does, however, mention that his friend, Mr. Habeshian, had seen a beautiful half tram of Levon III's successor, Oshin, in the collection of His Holiness Sahak of Cilician Armenia. His description of the coin left no doubt that it was truly a half tram and in style, the smaller version of the trams of Oshin. It is well known that in addition to his regular debased takvorins, Oshin struck true trams comparable to those of Levon I. It is regrettable that this coin disappeared and to this day its whereabouts are unknown. In the revised edition of the author's corpus[8] published in 1979, a single specimen of a half tram of Oshin is reported from the collection of Jack Guevrekian in new York. On a visit to the State Historical Museum in Moscow in 1983, the author found another specimen of an Oshin half tram apparently struck with the same die.[9]

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[7] K. J. Basmadjian, *Numismatique générale de l'Arménie* (Venice, 1936) (in Armenian).

[8] Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (revised edition, Danbury, Connecticut, 1979), No. 1936b; J. Guevrekian, "King Oshin Half Tram," ANJ, Vol. IV (1978), pp. 91-95.

[9] The author wishes to thank Mr. A. Nikitin of the State Historical Museum in Moscow for a photograph of this coin.

Oshin was succeeded by his only son, Levon IV, who ruled for twenty-two years (1320-1342). Although the political situation continued to deteriorate, Levon IV struck a very large number of takvorins. Unlike his father he does not seem to have issued true trams. Until very recently, no half trams of Levon IV were known. Surprisingly, a single specimen has been discovered and is now in the author's possession.[10] The existence of a half tram of Levon IV raises hopes that half trams of Gosdantin I and Levon III will also be found.

INVENTORY OF KNOWN HALF TRAMS OF CILICIAN ARMENIA

Ruler	Author's Corpus Number	Number of Coins 1979 Corpus	Number Known in 1984
Levon I (1198-1218)	68	3	4 (8)
	69-76	21	About 100
Hetoum-Zabel (1226-1271)	836-838	5	About 15
	839-841	11	About 25
	1274-1293	55	About 100
Levon II (1270-1289)	1522-1523	3	6
	1524-1539	33	About 50
Hetoum II (1289-1293)		Issued billons only	
Smpad (1296-1298)	1627	2	3 (9)
Gosdantin I (1298-1299)		No half trams discovered	
Levon III (1301-1307)		No half trams discovered	
Oshin (1308-1320)	1936b	1	2 (8)
Levon IV (1320-1342)		0	1 (10)
Guiton (1342-1344)		No half trams discovered	
Gosdantin III (1344-1363)		Probably no half trams issued	
Levon the Usurper (1363-1365)		Probably no half trams issued	
Gosdantin IV (1365-1374)		Probably no half trams issued	
Levon V Lusignan (1374-1375)		Issued billons only	

[10] In the author's collection.

Levon IV was succeeded by Guiton who ruled for two years. His coins are understandably rare but appear to have a higher silver content than those of his predecessors. Possibly at some future date half trams of this king will come to light.

Of the succeeding four kings, the first three struck mostly debased coins and in all probability saw no need to strike half trams. The last king of Cilician Armenia, Levon V Lusignan, struck only billons and billon size coppers, and the likelihood of his striking half trams is probably nil.

In order to complete the series of half trams of Cilician Armenia, one must hope for the discovery of half trams of Gosdantin I, Levon III, and Guiton.[11]

ԿԻԼԻԿԵԱՆ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՕՇԻՆԻ ԵՒ ԼԵՒՈՆ Դ-Ի ԿԻՍԱԴՐԱՄՆԵՐԸ

[*Ամփոփում*]

Ռուբինեան դրամներէն մեզի հասած է շուրջ երեք հարիւր կիսադրամներ։ Հայ թագաւորները կիսադրամներ կոխեցին երբ Կիլիկիան տնտեսապէս բարգաւաճ վիճակի մէջ էր։ Այնպէս կ'երևի որ տնտեսական անկումին զուգահեռ՝ կիսադրամներու թողարկումը դադրած է։ Առաջին երեք թագաւորներէն (Լևոն Ա, Հեթում Ա, Լևոն Բ) մեզի հասած է 300 կտոր կիսադրամ։ Իրենց յաջորդներէն՝ միայն 6 կտոր։ Վերջին գահակալները թողարկեցին միայն արժէքազրկուած թագուորին արծաթեայ դրամը և շատ հաւանաբար անիմաստ նկատեցին կտրել կիսադրամներ։ Կիսադրամները առ հասարակ ունին դրամներու կէս կշիռը և փոքր մակերէս։ Կիլիկիոյ հայկական դրամական համակարգը ամբողջացնելու համար միայն կրնանք յուսալ որ կիսադրամներ յայտնաբերուին Կոստանդին Ա, Լևոն Գ և Գուիտոն թագաւորներէն։

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11 Originally published in *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, New Series, Vol. XVIII (1984), pp. 471-474.

CILICIAN ARMENIA AND CRUSADER ANTIOCH

(Plate 19)

For millennia the homeland of the Armenians was the highlands of eastern Asia Minor. High mountain ranges and deep fertile valleys encouraged a spirit of independence and caused a lack of cohesion, making it very difficult to establish a unified, powerful nation. As courageous warriors, they served in the armies of neighboring empires for centuries, beginning with the Achaemenid period.

The migration of Armenians to Cilicia began in the tenth century, and was the result of several factors. In the tenth and early eleventh century, the Byzantine emperors expanded their rule over western historical Armenia, and encouraged Armenians to settle in various parts of the empire. In the mid-eleventh century, the Seljuk invasions of Armenia quickened the pace of Armenian migration to the west and southwest. While a variety of secondary sources and monographs have dealt with both Greater Armenia and Cilician Armenia in the 11th-14th century, many of these works are available only in Russian and Armenian. In my opinion insufficient attention has been paid to one important aspect of Armenian and European political history, namely the history of Cilician Armenia and Crusader Antioch. The present study is devoted to this topic.*

For many centuries Armenians constituted an important element in the Byzantine Empire.[1] No less than 25 emperors, 10 co-emperors

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* The history of the Crusades has been extensively studied and much of the information in the above article is taken from: A). Steven Runciman, *The History of the Crusades*, 3 volumes (Cambridge, England, 1951-1954); B). Kenneth M. Setton, Ed., *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1955), Vol. II (1962); C). *History of the Armenian People*, Vol. III (Erevan, 1976) (in Armenian).

[1] S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 1945).

and 10 empresses were of Armenian origin.[2] At times the language spoken in the palace was Armenian rather than Greek and palace revolutions occurred organized by Armenian elements. Many of the outstanding generals in the army were Armenians. There was, however, one very important distinction between the Armenians in the service of the Byzantine Empire and the Armenians in their homeland. The former were called *"Horoms"* or Romans because they had adopted the Greek Orthodox faith. The Armenian national church was independent of Byzantium, and Rome was often in theological disputes with them.

While many Armenian leaders in the service of the empire had to adopt the Orthodox faith, large segments of the Armenian population who were encouraged to settle in various parts of the empire kept their adherence to the national church. When in the year 975, Emperor John Zimisces (who was of Armenian origin) recovered some of the lands in Northern Syria and the Orontes valley from the Arabs, he had large contingents of Armenian troops with him and most likely some of them settled in the region.

Emperor Constantine Monomachus (1042-1055) followed a vigorous policy of resettlement of Armenians in Cappadocia and Cilicia. Already in 1022, Senekerim, the king of the Armenian province of Vaspurakan, ceded his kingdom to the Byzantine Emperor Basil II and received the city of Sebastia in Cappadocia with its surrounding territories. In 1045, King Gagik of Ani was forced to cede his land to Byzantium and settled with his people in eastern Cappadocia. Other minor rulers followed similar patterns of migration.[3]

Historians are in unanimous agreement that this forced migration of Armenian leaders from their homeland to the interior of the empire left the borderlands of Byzantium open to invasion by Seljuk and other Turkic tribes from Central Asia. This was perhaps one of the major factors causing the collapse of the Byzantine holdings in Asia Minor and the eventual destruction of the empire.

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[2] K. J. Basmadjian, *Numismatique générale de l'Arménie* (Venice, 1936) (in Armenian).

[3] *History of the Armenian People*, Vol. III, pp. 671-686.

Settlement of Armenians in Cilicia was partly due to the encouragement of the Byzantine emperors and partly to political circumstances. Thus, Abelgharib, who was related to Senekerim, was appointed governor of Tarsus and Mopsuesta in Cilicia. Abelgharib gave his daughter in marriage to Oshin, a prince from northern Armenia, and gave him the castle of Lampron in the Taurus Mountains. Oshin's descendents played a prominent role in the ensuing two centuries as the royal line of Hetoumides.

Another Byzantine general of Armenian origin, Philaretus, was given the title of *Sebastos* by the emperor. With the collapse of Byzantine power in eastern Asia Minor he saw the opportunity of establishing a new Armenian homeland. He gained control of a large territory stretching from the Euphrates to Cilicia and Antioch. His center of power was Marash, but he appointed various Armenians as governors of important cities and fortresses. When the Armenian ruler Vasak of Antioch was assassinated by some Greek officers, Philaretus exacted vengeance for this act and gained control of Antioch for several years.[4]

The dream of Philaretus was short-lived. By the time of his death in 1085, the powerful Sultan Malik-Shah of Baghdad was breaking up his territories. Antioch was captured in 1084, and the whole territory fell under the rule of Malik-Shah. With the death of Malik-Shah in 1092, the Armenians re-asserted their control of the former territories of Philaretus. Thus Gabriel established himself in Melitene, Tatoul in Marash, Toros in Edessa, the latter receiving the title of *Curopalatus* from the Byzantine emperor. All three professed the Greek Orthodox faith and were in contact with Byzantium.

East of Marash, another Armenian by the name of Kogh Vasil, held several fortresses. Unlike the others, he belonged to the Armenian national church and owed no allegiance to the Byzantine emperor. He thus became the rallying point for Armenians in eastern Cilicia.

In western Cilicia, similar events were taking place. Aside from Abelgharib and Oshin, both of the Greek Orthodox faith, a prince by the name of Roupen and related to the royal house of Senekerim,

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[4] Runciman, *The History of the Crusades*, Vol. I, pp. 73-75.

seized the fortress of Partzrpert and declared his independence from the emperor. Like Kogh Vasil he belonged to the Armenian national church and had the full support of the Armenians.

When the first waive of Crusaders arrived, the Armenians were in control of the mountainous territory extending from the Taurus Mountains in the west to the Euphrates, but their position was precarious. Whatever the motives of the Crusaders, the Armenians recognized them as natural allies both against the Turks and also against the Byzantines. It is therefore not surprising that Bagrat, the brother of Kogh Vasil, struck up a close friendship with Baldwin of Boulogne. Baldwin recognized the value of friendly relations with the Armenians and Bagrat saw the benefits to his family holdings in the Euphrates region.

While Baldwin realized the advantages of an Armenian state in Cilicia, another Crusader leader, Tancred, held different views. The main body of the Crusader army moved along the northern slope of the Taurus Mountains and from Heraclea to Tyana and Caesarea. From there, the Crusader army under Godfrey of Bouillon crossed the Anti-Taurus Mountains and came to Marash where they were welcomed by Tatoul. From Marash the main army moved toward Antioch.

Tancred, instead of following Godfrey, crossed the Cilician Gates from Heraclea. Another leader, Baldwin of Boulogne and his cousin Baldwin of Le Bourg with a larger army crossed the mountains at Tyana and followed Tancred. Tancred reached Adana and found it to be garrisoned by a Turkish occupation force. The Greek and Armenian inhabitants were anxious to drive the Turks out but Tancred's forces were too small to accomplish the task. Several days later, when Baldwin's larger army began to arrive, the Turks fled under cover of darkness and the city opened its gates to Tancred. Baldwin demanded that Tarsus should be transferred to him. Furious but unable to oppose the more powerful forces of Baldwin, Tancred moved eastward. In the meantime a force of three hundred Normans, seeking to join Tancred, arrived at Tarsus but were refused entry by Baldwin. While encamped outside of the walls, it was attacked by the former Turkish garrison of Tarsus and massacred to a man. This episode shocked Christendom and indicated clearly the

true motives of the Crusaders who had come East to seek their fortune.[5]

When Baldwin's forces moved towards Mamistra, a party of Normans under Richard of the Principate, a cousin of Tancred, attacked Baldwin in revenge. It was the first time that Crusader was fighting Crusader. Fortunately both leaders came to their senses and moved on towards their goal of Antioch. They joined the main force at Marash.

Whatever the motives of Tancred, Baldwin's move prevented him from establishing himself in Cilicia. None of the Armenian towns was seized and it seemed that at long last the crusading armies would help the Armenians hold their positions against the powerful Turks. The destruction of Turkish power in the Cilician plains made it possible for the Armenian chieftains in the mountains to expand their holdings towards the Mediterranean and lay the foundations for the kingdom of Cilician Armenia.

The Armenian rulers in the eastern mountains were anxious for the arrival of the Crusader armies. The aging Toros of Edessa, alarmed by the news that the powerful Kerbogha, the Turkish emir of Mosul was moving towards Edessa on his way to the relief of Antioch, was most anxious to come to an agreement with Baldwin. Unable to hire him as a mercenary, he consented to sharing the power with Baldwin. The tragic replacement of Toros and control of Edessa by Baldwin are beyond the scope of this study.

Having crossed the mountains and plains of Cilicia where they were welcomed and refurbished by the Armenian rulers and population, the Crusader armies moved southward towards Antioch. It was the major city on the road to the Holy Land and its capture was necessary to assure the success of the objective of the liberation of Jerusalem.

Malik-Shah had captured Antioch from its Armenian overlord Philaretus in 1085 and placed it under the governorship of Yaghi-Siyan.

On October 20, 1097, the first detachments of the crusading army entered Yaghi-Siyan's territory. Prior to the approach of the Chris-

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[5] Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I, p. 300; Runciman, p. 299.

tian armies, Yaghi-Siyan, knowing that he could not trust the Greek and Armenian population, had imprisoned many and allowed others to escape. The city was heavily garrisoned and supplies had been brought in to withstand a long siege. The main army under Bohemond arrived the next day and encamped in front of the mighty walls of the city. Soon Tancred and other leaders arrived from Cilicia and a full siege was begun. Yaghi-Siyan on his part was expecting the arrival of Moslem allies, especially that of the powerful atabeg of Mosul, Kerbogha. The events which led to the final capture of the city on June 3, 1098 have been described in detail in several publications.[6] Bohemond had planned to acquire Antioch for himself and had the consent of the majority of the Crusader princes.

After the capture of Antioch, the Christian armies marched on to liberate the cities of the Holy Land and Jerusalem. Bohemond declared himself prince of Antioch and assumed full control of the city.

In August of 1100, Bohemond received an appeal from the Armenians of Melitene who were being hard pressed by the Dānishmendids of Sivas. Anxious to extend his power northward, Bohemond left with a small force. Before he reached Melitene, his army was ambushed and annihilated. Bohemond was taken prisoner and carried into captivity by the Dānishmendid emir.

Antioch was now without a capable leader and in March of 1101 a delegation from Antioch offered the regency of the city to Tancred, who was Bohemond's nephew. Tancred left his fiefdom in Galilee and marched on Antioch with his men. It was agreed that upon Bohemond's return he should return to his fiefdom.

Tancred's first act was to consolidate his position in Antioch and extend his power in Cilicia. In his march through the Cilician plains, Tancred had helped Bohemond conquer Mamistra, Adana, and Tarsus, which soon were taken over by the Byzantines. By the end of 1101, Tancred had recovered these cities. After a long siege he captured Latakia from the Greeks. These actions no doubt caused some concern to the Byzantine emperor and also Baldwin of Edessa. Through some political manoeuvres a ransom was arranged and Bohemond was released with the payment of 100,000 besants.

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[6] Runciman, Vol. I, pp. 308-318.

The money was supplied mainly by the Byzantine emperor, the Patriarch Bernard of Antioch and Kogh Vasil. Significantly, although Tancred did not interfere with these arrangements, he did not contribute to the ransom.

Bohemond was released in the spring of 1103. Upon his return he thanked Tancred for his capable administration and assumed full control of the city. The unhappy Tancred was powerless to do anything and had to be grateful for a small fief within the principality.[7]

In the spring of 1104, the powerful emirs of Mosul and Mardin threatened Edessa. Baldwin of Le Bourg called for assistance and Bohemond along with Tancred hastened to his aid. The resulting battle of Harran was a disaster for the Crusaders and Baldwin was captured, while Bohemond and Tancred managed to escape capture by seeking safety in Edessa.

The citizens of Edessa offered Tancred the regency until Baldwin was freed. Tancred stayed in Edessa while Bohemond moved to Antioch with the remaining troops. The Moslems attacked Edessa but were repulsed largely due to the valor of the Armenian population.

The Byzantines were at this time on good terms both with Raymond of Tripoli and King Baldwin of Jerusalem. They therefore proceeded to recover what had been lost to Bohemond and Tancred in Cilicia. In the summer of 1104 a Byzantine army under Monastras marched into Cilicia and without much difficulty captured the lost cities of Mamistra, Tarsus, and Adana.

Bohemond was placed in a difficult position and he decided to return to Europe and gather new forces to make his position more secure. He sailed for Europe late in 1104, after appointing Tancred as his regent in the East for the second time (1105-1112).

Tancred chose his kinsman Richard of the Principate as governor of Edessa in 1105 and began to strengthen his position. He managed to capture several forts from the ruler of Aleppo. He attacked Mamistra in 1107 then moved south to recapture Latakia from the Byzantines. By the spring of 1108, Tancred had recovered practically all the territory that Bohemond had lost to the Byzantines.

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[7] Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I, p. 388.

However, it appears that Tancred's hold in lower Cilicia was weak. In the year 1111, Turkish tribes captured Anazarpa and looted it after massacring most of the Christians. In the following year Toros, the grandson of Roupen, captured Anazarpa and made it the seat of his power. Toros was careful not to antagonize the Crusader rulers and remained aloof in the wars for the control of lower Cilicia. Tancred at the height of his power was probably planning expansion into the mountainous strongholds of the Armenians when he died in 1112, at the age of thirty-six. He had built a strong base for the Crusader holdings in Antioch and the surrounding territory.

Roger succeeded as ruler of Antioch. He was married to Cecilia, the sister of Baldwin of Edessa. Pons of Tripoli married Tancred's widow and all three princes recognized King Baldwin of Jerusalem as their overlord. Thus the Crusader powers were united and in harmony for once. Baldwin II of Edessa managed to gain control of some of the Armenian lands upon Kogh Vasil's death. The only free Armenian power left in mountainous Cilicia was that of the Roupenians.

It is interesting that the first three rulers of Antioch, Bohemond (1103-1105), Tancred (1105-1112), and Roger (1112-1119) struck copper coins bearing legends in Greek. It is also significant that both Toros I (1099-1121) and Toros II (1145-1169) and other Armenian princes struck copper coins which bore Armenian legends.[8]

Toros died in 1129 and was succeeded by his brother Levon I. While Tarsus and Adana remained in Frankish hands, Toros still held Anazarpa and captured Sis as his capital. Bohemond II who was prince of Antioch felt that it was time to recover the Cilician towns lost to the Armenians. He marched with an army on Levon I. Alarmed, Levon called upon the Dānishmendid emir for assistance. Unaware of the presence of Dānishmendids, Bohemond carelessly marched into Cilicia. The Dānishmendid army fell upon him and not only annihilated his army but cut off his head and sent it to the Caliph as a gift. The widow Alice, daughter of King Baldwin of

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[8] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "Coins of the Baronial Period of Cilician Armenia (1080-1198)," American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes*, Vol. XII (1966), pp. 139-145, pl. XLI; also in SNS [I], pp. 95-102; 172-175.

Jerusalem assumed control of Antioch. Her mother was the Armenian Constance and thus she probably had adherents in Antioch. King Baldwin rushed to appoint a suitable ruler for that city but his daughter Alice took active steps to bar his entry into the city. Baldwin captured the city with the assistance of Joscelin and assumed the regency of the city. With his granddaughter assured of the future rule of the city, he returned to Jerusalem in 1130.[9]

With Bohemond dead, Levon I saw an opportunity to seize the Cilician towns of Mamistra, Tarsus, and Adana in 1135.[10] Control of the Cilician plains was imperative for the establishment of an Armenian power in the Near East.

To mend matters, King Fulk arranged for Raymond of Poitiers (then thirty-seven years old) to come to Antioch and marry the nine-year-old Constance, Alice's daughter (1136). The country was in dire straits and needed a leader, with the Moslems raiding and pillaging the Antiochene territory.

Raymond's first step was to recapture the Cilician cities. While Raymond had King Fulk's approval, Joscelin of Edessa, the nephew of Levon, allied himself with Levon to oppose Raymond. On the other hand, Baldwin of Marash, Joscelin's vassal, allied himself with Raymond. Levon got the upper hand in the opposing forces, and accepted an invitation from Baldwin for a personal interview. Baldwin treacherously made Levon his prisoner and sent him off to Antioch. Taking advantage of the confused situation, the Dānishmendids invaded Cilicia and the holdings of Baldwin. Alarmed by the deeds of the Dānishmendids, Levon promised to return the Cilician cities in return for his freedom. Upon reaching Cilicia, however, he ignored his promise. Seeing the irrationality of warfare between Crusaders and Armenians, Joscelin managed to arrange a truce, thus terminating the conflict.

The Crusader princes had much more dangerous enemies to contend with. The Moslem leader Zengi, advancing on Tripoli, had defeated the combined armies of the Count Pons of Tripoli, taking him prisoner, while King Fulk barely had escaped with a small force.

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[9] Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I, p. 431.
[10] Runciman, Vol. II, pp. 200-201.

The king, Raymond of Tripoli, and Joscelin, forgetting their quarrels, gathered their forces with the result that a truce was arranged with Zengi, releasing all the Christian prisoners.

The real reason which brought about peace between the Armenians and Crusaders on the one hand and Zengi and the Crusaders on the other was the news that the Byzantine emperor John Comnenus was marching into Cilicia at the head of a great army. The Crusaders had ignored their promise to become vassals of the emperor. John was a very capable soldier and leader and pursued the restructuring of the old Byzantine Empire with much energy. He settled his affairs in Europe, cowed the Turks in Anatolia and turned his attention to Cilicia and the Frankish East in 1137.

The Byzantine army captured the Cilician cities from the Armenians in quick order. Levon relying on the fortifications of Anazarpa took refuge there. However, the engines of the Byzantines battered down the walls and after a siege of thirty-seven days, the city was captured. Levon retreated into the safety of the mountains, and the emperor moved on to Antioch (1137).

Raymond had just made peace with Zengi and hastened to Antioch to find the Byzantines laying siege to the city. Soon he saw the hopelessness of his situation. He offered to surrender provided John would grant him the principality as his imperial vicar. The emperor demanded absolute unconditional surrender. An agreement was reached, Raymond went to the emperor's camp and swore allegiance. The emperor's standard was hoisted over the citadel that same year.

The Byzantine emperor returned and completed the conquest of Cilicia in the winter of 1137-1138. The remaining fortresses which the Armenians held were captured and Levon was taken captive along with his wife and two sons, Roupen and Toros. Armenian rule of Cilicia was ended temporarily.

Levon and his family were taken to Constantinople as prisoners. Roupen was put to death, but Levon and Toros gained the emperor's favor and lived under surveillance. Levon died four years later.

John Comnenus spent the winter in Cilicia and in March he gathered his forces to march against the Moslems. The troops of the prince of Antioch, the count of Edessa, and a force of Templars hav-

ing sworn allegiance to him joined him in his campaign. However, the allegiance of the Franks was forced and their war efforts were minimal. Having obtained favorable terms with the enemy, John returned to Antioch and made a triumphal entry. He rode on horseback with the prince of Antioch and the count of Edessa walking on either side as his grooms. He soon left Antioch and returned to Cilicia, then to Constantinople.

Upon his return he managed to expel the Dānishmendids from parts of western Asia Minor. He realized that the Franks could not be depended on to be faithful allies.

In the spring of 1142, John again marched into Cilicia. Joscelin paid him homage, and the emperor hurried to Antioch. Raymond demurred and the season being too far advanced, the emperor returned to Cilicia for the winter. In March of 1143, the emperor was wounded in a hunting accident and died soon after. The crown went to his youngest son Manuel. Manuel led the army back to Constantinople and Antioch was saved for the Franks.

In the meantime, Toros, the surviving son of Levon, was planning to return to his ancestral land and assume its leadership. In 1145, he managed to escape and enter Cilicia secretly. Overjoyed with the appearance of their prince, the Armenians rallied around him. His brother Stephane and Mleh who had been living in the county of Joscelin II of Edessa joined him and the two brothers began recapturing their former holdings. Soon the important castle of Vahka was captured followed by others, including Anazarpa, the seat of the Roupenian power (1148). The campaigns of the emperor had weakened both the Moslems and the Franks so that the political and military situation was favorable to Toros. By 1151 he had captured Til-Hamdoun and Mamistra. The Byzantines could not ignore the growing power of Toros. An army under Andronicus Comnenus, a cousin of Manuel, besieged Mamistra. Andronicus was aided by Armenian princelings of western Cilicia who long had recognized the suzerainty of the emperor. Toros attacked the Byzantines under cover of darkness and routed them. Andronicus fled to Antioch and then sailed to Constantinople.[11] Among the prisoners were three

[11] Runciman, Vol. II, p. 332.

Armenian leaders, Oshin of Lampron, Vasil of Partzrpert, and Dikran of Bragana. Oshin was released after paying a ransom of 40,000 *tahegans* and left his young son Hetoum as a hostage. The latter was married to Toros' daughter. Toros was now master of Cilicia and the Byzantines were in no position to interfere with him.[12]

In the meantime Raymond had died in 1149; his widow Constance had a son Bohemond III who was but five years old. King Baldwin's attempts to find a suitable husband for Constance failed and she continued as regent. Eventually she married Reynald of Chatillon.

In the meantime the Byzantines, unable to prevent Toros from gaining control of Cilicia, incited Reginald of Antioch to march against Cilicia by promising him a large sum of money. Reginald captured certain border castles but when the emperor failed to pay the promised sum, he joined Toros and the two raided Cyprus in 1156. Toros remained on good terms with the Latins and took part in several incursions against the Moslems.

The loss of Cilicia, the rape of Cyprus, and the unfaithfulness of Antioch prompted the emperor to march East again. He moved rapidly and secretly into Cilicia in the autumn of 1158. Caught by surprise, Toros fled to the mountains, taking with him his family and treasures. The Byzantines captured the cities in the plains but Toros managed to elude them and hide in the mountain fastnesses. Reynald of Antioch was forced to appear in the presence of the emperor in penitent's garb. His powers were limited and he promised to abide by the conditions imposed by the emperor, which included handing over the citadel to a Byzantine garrison when asked, installing a Greek patriarch in Antioch instead of the Latin, and providing a contingent for the imperial army.

Baldwin of Jerusalem met the emperor and succeeded in winning his confidence. For some reason Baldwin managed to secure a pardon for Toros who had to go through the same procedure as Reynald, and was allowed to keep his holdings in the mountains.

On April 12, 1159, Manuel made a formal triumphal entry into Antioch. Reynald on foot held his bridle while other Frankish lords

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[12] *History of the Armenian People*, Vol. III, p. 681.

walked beside his horse. Behind him rode Baldwin, uncrowned and unarmed.[13]

Before returning to Constantinople, Manuel made peace with Nur-ad-Din of Aleppo to the consternation of the Latins who expected him to march on Syria. Nur-ad-Din released all of the Christian prisoners, including Bertrand of Toulouse.

In the following year, Manuel gathered his forces to oppose the Turks of Anatolia. His general Contostaphanus gathered levies from Toros and Reynald, promised to him by treaty, and a force of Petchenegs whom Manuel had settled in Cilicia. The Turkish sultan Kilich Arslan was defeated and gave up the struggle. In the peace that followed, the Turks were forced to give back all the cities captured from the Byzantines, and provide a regiment to the emperor's army whenever requested. The agreements were amicable and hostilities ended in 1161.

The emperor's successes brought peace to the Latin East and land routes being secured, pilgrimage to the Holy Land increased. Small skirmishes continued between the Crusaders and their Moslem neighbors. In a raid by Reynald into the Euphrates valley, he was ambushed and held prisoner for sixteen years by the forces of Aleppo. In the prison, he found Joscelin of Courtenay, the titular head of Edessa who likewise had been captured in a raid into enemy territory.

The capture of Reynald raised certain problems. Princess Constance wished to assume rule of the city while others preferred that Bohemond (her son from a previous marriage) become the ruler of Antioch.

In the year 1159, the empress Irene of Byzantium died and Manuel sought a bride among the Latin princesses. Of the two eligible princesses, Maria, daughter of Constance of Antioch and Melisende, daughter of Raymond II of Tripoli, the former became empress, strengthening Constance's position. King Baldwin of Jerusalem accepted the emperor's decision and greeted the Byzantine ambassadors in Antioch.

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[13] Runciman, Vol. II, p. 353.

The Byzantine emperor had succeeded in creating an atmosphere of amity between the empire and the Armenians in Cilicia and the Latins in the East. Both accepted the suzerainty of the emperor and were, in effect, his vassals. However, unlike his father, Toros was free and had his army, and was in full control of his mountain domain. In 1162, the governor of Tarsus, Andronicus Euphorbenus, invited Stephen (Toros' brother) to a feast. The next day, Stephen's body was found in the street and Andronicus was accused of the crime. Toros, with his other brother Mleh, took up arms and attacked the Byzantine garrisons of Mamistra, Anazarpa, and Vahka, massacring its forces.[14] Manuel judged the situation correctly and accepted the mediation of King Amalric of Jerusalem by recalling Andronicus and establishing peace. The Armenians, in the face of Moslem power, continued their activity by helping the barons install Bohemond III in Antioch and expelling Constance. Toros Joined the Latins in their fight against Nur-ad-Din in 1164, and the two were among the few leaders who escaped capture at Harim.

Toros felt strong enough to attempt the subjugation of the House of Lampron in Cilicia, but he failed to capture their strongly fortified position. Thanks to the efforts of Catholicos Gregory III, there was a reconciliation between the two powerful families. In spite of this failure, Toros had laid the foundation for a strong Cilician Armenia. Upon his death in 1168, however, his brother Mleh (whose actions had forced Toros to expel him from Cilicia) allied himself with Nur-ad-Din of Aleppo and with the Sultan's forces invaded Cilicia. His first attempt failed, but when he prepared to invade again the following year the Armenian nobles asked him to come and inherit his brother's realm peacefully. Toros' young son Roupen, with the regent Thomas, went to Antioch then to Hromkla on the Euphrates river, the fortress in which the catholicos resided. Roupen soon died in Hromkla, apparently assassinated by Mleh's agents.

Mleh was a violent man and constantly at war with neighbors. He failed to capture Lampron but wrested several castles from the Templars. With the assistance of Nur-ad-Din's forces, he captured

[14] Runciman, Vol. II, p. 364.

Adana, Mamistra, and Tarsus from the Byzantines in the years 1172-1173. With the capture of the Templar strongholds in the Amanus, Bohemond of Antioch felt that he was being threatened by Mleh. The Antiochene forces marched into Cilicia in the spring of 1173, without conclusive results. King Amalric decided to intervene but on hearing that Nur-ad-Din was marching against Krak, he returned to Jerusalem.

The death of Nur-ad-Din in 1174 ended Mleh's fortune. The Armenian nobles, no longer fearing the intervention of Nur-ad-Din, rebelled and killed Mleh in Sis where he had established his residence. They chose as his successor Roupen II (1175-1187) the eldest son of Stephen who had been living with his paternal uncle Pagouran, lord of Babaron. In 1176, the Byzantines had suffered a serious defeat from the Seljuks of Asia Minor. This defeat finally ended any interference on the Byzantine part in the affairs of Cilicia and the Crusader East.

Roupen did his best to re-establish his uncle's policy of collaborating with the Latins and warding off Turkish attacks on his borders. The Turkish leader Kilich Arslan complained to Saladin and asked for intervention. Saladin entered Cilicia in 1180 and forced Roupen to return the booty and prisoners taken from the Turks. When the Byzantine emperor Isaac Comnenus again succeeded in seizing the cities of Cilicia, Roupen allied himself with Kilich Arslan and recovered Adana and Mamistra. Tarsus was held by the Greeks in 1181, but was captured by Bohemond who sold it to Roupen in 1183.[15]

Roupen now had full control of Cilicia and the moment seemed opportune to subdue the House of Lampron, which as vassals of the Byzantine emperor, was a thorn in the side of the Roupenians. Roupen besieged Lampron and its leader Hetoum appealed to Bohemond III of Antioch for assistance. Though officially allies, Antioch resented the increasing power of the Roupenians who now had consolidated their hold on the cities of Cilicia, once under control of Antioch. Bohemond invited Roupen to a banquet and treacherously seized him as his prisoner. Roupen promised to cede Sarvantikar, Til-Hamdoun as well as the cities of Mamistra and

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[15] Runciman, Vol. II, p. 430.

Adana to Bohemond in return for his freedom. The transfer of the towns was accompanied by payment of a ransom and delivery of his sister Rita as hostage. After the conclusion of the agreements and return of the hostages, Roupen recaptured the ceded towns and was powerful enough to prevent Bohemond from taking any action against him.

In the year 1187, Roupen transferred his power to his brother Levon II and retired to a monastery. Levon proved to be a very wise and courageous leader. In the face of increasing Moslem attacks of Turkmens and threats from Saladin, he patched up his differences with Bohemond of Antioch. He was successful in attacking the Turkish tribes and expanded his power by 1188 and seized the fortresses of Bragana and Seleucia. He captured Heraclea from the sultan and returned it after receiving a large sum. Cilicia now was at last firmly in the hands of the Roupenians. In a century of struggles against the Byzantines, the Turks, and the Crusaders, they had succeeded in capturing Cilicia for their own.

Having secured all of Cilicia for himself, Levon's next task was the fulfillment of his ambition to be crowned king of the Cilician Armenians. The Latin principalities were under constant attack by Saladin and in 1189 Pope Clement III sent letters to Levon II for assistance to the Crusaders. Levon assisted the Crusaders in their siege of Acre and joined Richard the Lionhearted in the conquest of Cyprus.[16] To secure his southern borders, he rebuilt the southern fortress of Baghras which Saladin had captured from the Templars, but refused to return to them after he rebuilt it. This rekindled the rivalry between Bohemond and Levon. Soon after the death of Saladin, Levon invited Bohemond to Baghras, and seized him just as Bohemond had done to Levon's brother, Roupen II. Bohemond III agreed to surrender Antioch in exchange for his freedom. Armenian troops under Hetoum of Sasoun, entered Antioch. However, the citizenry, especially the Greek element, ousted the invaders. Levon's attempt to annex Antioch was unsuccessful; the commune in Antioch chose Raymond (Bohemond's eldest son) as their leader, and messengers were sent to the other son in Tripoli and Henry of

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[16] Runciman, Vol. III, p. 44.

Champagne, ruler of Jerusalem. Henry came to Sis in 1194 to negotiate the release of Bohemond, and establish peace between the Christian princes. To seal the new alliance, Levon's niece Alice was married to the heir presumptive, Bohemond's eldest son and heir, Raymond, with the understanding that the offspring of this marriage would rule over Armenia and Antioch. It appears that with this arrangement Bohemond of Antioch accepted the suzerainty of Levon.

The marriage took place in 1195 and a son was born in 1198, shortly after the death of Raymond. The child was named Raymond-Roupen after his father and Armenian grandfather. The mother Alice and her son were sent to Armenia, and the boy grew up under royal tutelage with the understanding that he was to inherit Armenia and Antioch. Shortly after the coronation of Levon as King Levon I of Armenia, the Pope's legate, Conrad of Mainz, came to Antioch and in the presence of Bohemond and his barons, swore to uphold the succession of Raymond-Roupen.[17]

Prince Levon II, finally achieved his life's ambition of being crowned king of Armenia as King Levon I. He explored all avenues of achieving his goal. To be recognized as king he had to receive his crown either from an emperor or from the Pope. In fact, he received a crown from the Byzantine emperor, from Henry VI, the Holy Roman emperor, and was crowned king by the Pope's legate, the archbishop of Mainz. Conrad of Mittelsbach crowned him king of the Armenians in the cathedral of Tarsus on January 6, 1198. The crowning took place in the presence of the Syrian Jacobite Patriarch, the Greek Metropolitan of Tarsus, and numerous religious and military leaders. The Catholicos Abirad anointed him and the Pope's representative Conrad of Mainz presented him with the royal insignia.[18]

Levon's desire to acquire Antioch met with serious opposition. He would have succeeded in his plans had it not been for Bohemond IV

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[17] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "A Unique Billon of Levon I of Cilician Armenia and Its Historical Significance," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Series, Vol. II (1967), pp. 189-197, pl. XIV; also in SNS [I], pp. 103-112.

[18] Fr. Ghewond Alishan, *Sissouan* (Venice, 1885), pp. 463-476 (in Armenian); French edition (Venice, 1899).

of Tripoli who took vigorous steps to gain control of the city. Bohemond III of Antioch died in 1201 and the Antiochene war of succession began.

Bohemond of Tripoli had the Greek element, the Templars who had not forgiven Levon for not returning Baghras to them, and the church on his side. However, many of the nobility mindful of their oath supported Levon and the rule of Raymond-Roupen. Levon's attempts to gain the support of the Templars by offering Baghras to them failed. The only recourse left appeared to be military action.

On November 11, 1203, a small detachment of Armenian soldiers entered Antioch. They were supported by the Latin prelate, Peter of Angoulême, and some of the ruling Latin elements. Bohemond was in Tripoli but the Templars defended the citadel. In the meantime Bohemond called al-Zahir, the melik of Aleppo. al-Zahir was only too glad to interfere with the affairs of the Christians and hurried with an army to Antioch. Seeing the turn of events, and not being prepared to face al-Zahir, Levon retired to Armenia after having control of Antioch for a short period.

It appears that Levon was confident of his occupation of Antioch and had struck some coins with Armenian legends which were similar in size and appearance to the Antiochene billons. They were quite different from the silver coins of Levon, in circulation in Armenia, and were obviously meant for Antioch. It appears that the coins were struck in Sis in anticipation of the capture of Antioch. The obverse of the Levon billons shows the crowned head of the king, somewhat similar in type to the deniers of John of Brienne, the king of Jerusalem, which were struck 20 years later. The reverse shows a cross similar to the cross seen on the contemporary Antioch deniers. These Levon deniers are extremely rare, only two being known to the writer struck from different dies.[19]

Upon returning to Antioch, Bohemond quarreled with the Latin Patriarch and removed him from office replacing him with the Greek Patriarch.

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[19] Bedoukian, "A Unique Billon of Levon I of Cilician Armenia and Its Historical Significance," p. 106.

Levon made a second attempt in 1208, and entered Antioch with the aid of the Latin elements, with his army. Again Bohemond called upon al-Zahir who was still smarting at the defeat at the hands of Levon at Hamk. Again Levon retired, not wishing to face the enemy in a divided city whose citadel was in the hands of the Templars and Bohemond's forces. As Levon retired, many nobles fearing vengeance at the hands of Bohemond, left with him.

This second occupation of Antioch perhaps lasted several months but historians disagree on its duration. Since he did not occupy the citadel where the mint was probably located, and had little time to design and strike coins. There are a number of billons similar to the ones bearing Armenian characters which Levon had struck previously, but they bear Latin inscriptions. It must be assumed that these were also struck in Sis for circulation in Antioch once the city was in his power. These deniers are quite rare, there being barely half a dozen specimens in existence.[19]

Obviously, these struggles involved annexation of Antioch to Armenia, and not merely reinstating Raymond-Roupen in power. In the latter case, as we shall see below, the deniers would most likely have borne Raymond-Roupen's name.

The struggle to control Antioch continued between Levon and Bohemond. The Latin element was strongly in favor of Levon; Levon won over the Hospitallers, and careful plans were laid to hand over the city to Levon. On February 16, 1216, when Bohemond was in Tripoli, Levon's forces entered Antioch. The Templars who were in charge of the citadel capitulated and at long last Levon was in full control of the city.

Raymond-Roupen was now eighteen years old and was consecrated as prince of Antioch by the Latin Patriarch in the Cathedral of Saint Peter. The Pope enjoined all the Latins to obey and protect the young prince.

Strangely, Raymond-Roupen seems to have shown little gratitude to his uncle who had placed him in power. His conduct forced the ageing Levon to leave the city soon after its capture. There were other reasons which caused cooling of relations between the king and the young prince.

Levon had chosen Raymond-Roupen since he had no successor. Both the barons of Antioch and the princes of Armenia had vowed to support Raymond-Roupen as ruler of Antioch and Armenia. However, in 1210 Levon had married Isabel, the daughter of Amalric, the king of Cyprus and had a daughter by her in 1215 or 1216. It appeared that the Armenian princes advised Levon to declare Zabel as his successor and release them from their vow to support Raymond-Roupen.

In view of these facts, Levon allowed Raymond-Roupen full power to become prince of Antioch and strike typically Antiochene deniers bearing his name instead of Levon's. He may have realized the futility of annexing Antioch to his kingdom. Raymond-Roupen ruled for nearly three years, and his coins are relatively common.[20]

In spite of these reverses, Levon must be regarded as a great king who established a new Armenian dynasty. There is little doubt that his power was greater than any of the Latin states. He cultivated the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights by giving them numerous castles. His daughter by his first marriage became the wife of John of Brienne from Jerusalem, and his niece Phillippa married Theodor Lascaris.

Commerce was greatly developed and the ports of Cilicia became important for the entry of goods to the vast hinterland of Asia. The Armenian court in many respects took the appearance of a western court and the *Assizes of Antioch* was translated into Armenian and the laws applied in Armenia.

Levon died in 1219, and the barons, released from their oath to accept Raymond-Roupen as their ruler, supported the five-year-old daughter Zabel as the rightful heir. Raymond-Roupen made an effort to capture the throne of Armenia. He was supported by Vahram, lord of Corycos, who had married Raymond-Roupen's mother, the princess Alice. Together they seized Tarsus and Adana but the regent Constantine of Lampron gathered the Armenian forces and

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[20] G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1878), p. 55, pl. 3, No. 9; D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East* (London, 1983), pp. 39-40, pl. 13, Nos. 328-329.

recaptured the two cities in 1221. Raymond-Roupen was captured and died in prison in 1222.

Another claimant to the throne was John of Brienne, who had married Levon's daughter Rita from a previous marriage. However, Rita and her son soon died and the matter was dropped.

Seeking strong allies to strengthen Armenia's position, Constantine arranged the marriage of Zabel to Philip, the younger son of Bohemond IV of Antioch. Philip had promised to adopt the Armenian faith, communion, and customs and to respect the position of all ethnic groups in Armenia. The marriage took place when Philip was sixteen. Soon, however, Philip forgot his promises. He surrounded himself with Latin nobles and showed little respect and appreciation to the Armenian nobility. When it was discovered that he planned to send the crown and royal treasures to his father in Antioch, the Armenian nobles, under the leadership of Constantine, seized Philip and his young bride Zabel at Til-Hamdoun, on their way to Antioch, toward the end of 1224. Philip was imprisoned and died the next year from poisoning.[21] Bohemond of Antioch had tried in vain to save his son but Constantine had the full support of the Armenian nobles, and Antioch even with appeals for help to Armenia's Moslem neighbors was powerless to help Philip.

The young heiress Zabel, opposed to a new marriage, had taken refuge in Seleucia, which her father had given to the Hospitallers. In effect, the fortress owed allegiance to Zabel and the Hospitallers though unwilling to surrender the heiress, recognized the hopelessness of their position. The matter was settled diplomatically by selling the fortress to Constantine with Zabel in it.

Having failed twice, Constantine decided (with the consent of the Armenian nobles) to marry Zabel to his son Hetoum. This was indeed a wise step since it joined the two most powerful families of Armenia and thus ended the long feud between them. The marriage took place in 1226 and had a stabilizing effect on the country.

With Hetoum's crowning, the Latin influence greatly diminished and a more unified country controlled exclusively by the Armenian elements took place. The Crusader principalities were weakening

[21] Setton, Vol. II, p. 651.

and just as the Byzantines had ceased to interfere in the affairs of Armenia after their defeat, so was Antioch powerless to interfere and was already falling under the influence of Armenia, beginning with Levon I.

Hetoum's rule was a continuation of prosperity and consolidation of his power. There were two invasions from the Seljuks of Iconium during 1233 and 1245. During this time the Mongols arrived in Asia Minor; Hetoum seeing their terrible power, formed an alliance with them, thus removing the Seljuk menace. In 1253 Hetoum visited the Great Khan Mongke at Karakorum. He was received with great honors and secured certain privileges as well as a promise of help against the Mamluks. His trip took three years. The Mongol-Armenian alliance proved fruitful to Hetoum and he recovered lost territories to the Seljuks and obtained additional territory in eastern Cilicia.[22]

Bohemond V of Antioch died in January of 1252. He left a fifteen-year-old son who succeeded under the regency of his mother. At this time Louis IX, king of France, was in Acre, and Bohemond VI with Louis' aid and the permission of the Pope, became ruler of Antioch and Tripoli. Even Bohemond V had recognized the necessity of a close relationship with Armenia, but past animosities prevented a rapproachement. His son Bohemond VI had no such feelings and with Louis' intervention a marriage was arranged between Htoum's daughter Sibylla and Bohemond. In effect, Bohemond became a vassal of his father-in-law and Hetoum promised to share the responsibility of protecting Antioch from its enemies.[23] Physically Antioch was part of Armenia since it had a common border with it, while the territory between Antioch and Tripoli was controlled by the Moslems. We thus find Bohemond joining his forces with Hetoum against the Mamluks, even though other Crusader principalities remained neutral.

In 1258, the Mongols captured Baghdad and spread their rule over Mesopotamia. In the following year, Hulagu asked Hetoum for military assistance in his campaigns against Syria. It is said that

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[22] *History of the Armenian People*, Vol. III, pp. 700-701.

[23] Runciman, Vol. III, p. 278.

Hetoum joined the Mongol armies with 12,000 horsemen and 40,000 foot soldiers, a considerable army indicating the power of Cilician Armenia. The armies first captured Aleppo, a task which the Crusaders had never succeeded in doing. Then Damascus was captured and plans for the liberation of the Holy Land seemed to be on hand when Hulagu received news that the Great Khan Montgke had died. He hurried to Karakorum to take part in the election of the new khan and left Kitbogha in charge of the armies. While in Persia, he learned that Kubla Khan had been elected and he decided to return to Syria to continue the war.

The tide was turning against the Mongols in Syria. The main Mamluk power was in the hands of Baibars, who first secured the neutrality of the remaining Christian enclaves, then marched against Kitbogha. In a pitched battle in September of 1260 at Ain Jalut near Nazareth, Baibars won and Kitbogha was slain. It was the first decisive defeat of the Mongol army. The danger to Syria and Egypt was lifted and the Christians faced a ruthless and powerful enemy. By the end of 1260, Baibars had caused the death of the Mamluk client Kutuz and assumed leadership. Once in absolute power, he sought to destroy the Mongol power and that of their allies, the Christians. The grandson of Genghis Khan, Berke Khan (who was the head of the Golden Horde of Kipchaks in the Volga valley) had embraced Islam, and was now a bitter enemy of the Il-Khanids of Persia, who were allies of the Christians. Baibars lost no time in securing an alliance with the Moslem Mongols. He formed an alliance with the Seljukids of Rum in Asia Minor. He was then in a secure and powerful position to carry out his plans.

In the spring of 1265, Baibars set out to reduce the Crusader holdings. He captured Caesarea, Haifa, and Arsuf. Acre also would have been attacked if Hugh of Antioch had not landed there with reinforcements from Cyprus. Baibars returned to Egypt satisfied with his victories.

In February 1265, the Khan Hulagu had died and it took several months for his successor Abagha to arrange the succession. While he was busy repelling the attacks of the northern Moslem Mongols, Baibars set out to complete his plans of capturing the remaining Crusader principalities. The Templars were holding the fortified

castle of Safed, and promised to surrender if their defendants were allowed to retire to Acre. When the castle was handed over on these terms, Baibars had all of the Templars decapitated. Baibars kept devastating the country and putting to the sword all Christians he could lay his hands on.

In 1266, Hetoum tried to negotiate with Baibars but seeing the latter's unacceptable terms, went to Tabriz to secure Mongol aid. The Mamluk armies invaded Cilicia and instead of trying to force passage through the fortified Syrian Gates, moved north and passed through the Amanus Gates. Hopelessly outnumbered, the Armenian army was defeated, and of the king's sons, Toros was slain and Levon taken prisoner. The enemy armies then sacked the main cities of Cilicia, killing its inhabitants and carrying others into captivity. Even the capital Sis could not resist the onslaught: its cathedral was set afire and the royal treasury was removed to Egypt. It was a blow from which the country never fully recovered.[24]

Sated with booty and prisoners, Baibars' generals, possibly bribed by Bohemond, did not make an attempt top capture Antioch. Early in 1268, Baibars again set out from Egypt. The only Christian possessions left were Acre, the temple castle of Athlit, and Jaffa. He marched on Tripoli but finding it well garrisoned, turned north on Antioch. Bohemond was in Tripoli and Antioch was under the command of the Constable Simon Mansel. The garrison was too small to protect such a large city. After repeated attacks, the Mamluks captured the city and as usual put the inhabitants to the sword. The booty taken was enormous. Thus, Antioch ceased to be an important city in 1266. It had been the first of the states founded by the Franks and lasted for 171 years.

It suited Baibars to rest his activities. There were rumors that the Mongols were again on the march and the king of France, Saint Louis, was preparing a great crusade. Baibars' campaign had given Armenia a respite and in that short period, the country prospered. With the destruction of the Crusader ports, the Armenian ports became commercially important as passageways to the vast Mongol hinterland.

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[24] Setton, Vol. II, p. 654.

Commercial privileges were granted to the Venetians in 1271, to the Genoese in 1288, to the Catalans in 1293, to the Montpelliers in 1314, and to others.[25]

Along with increasing trade came prosperity. Marco Polo, visiting Ayas in 1271, wrote that it was a "city good and great and of great trade."[26]

During this period, many monasteries expanded their activities and many of the manuscripts which they wrote have survived.

The Mamluks captured Tripoi in 1289 and massacred its Christian population.

Thus ended the long and sometimes turbulant relationship between Armenia and the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli.

There can be little doubt that the coming of the Crusaders enabled Armenia to establish a kingdom which lasted for nearly three centuries, and that the presence of the Armenian kingdom on their northern flank protected the Crusader principalities from attacks by enemy powers. In spite of periodic warfare, the Christian East, consisting of Armenian and Crusader principalities, must be considered as one unit facing the Moslem world. Intermarriage between their ruling families was common.[27] Moreover, it is obvious that Armenians played a major role during the crusades and thus helped shape the history of the Near East and Western Europe.

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[25] Victor Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie ou Cartulaire de la Chancellerie royale des Roupéniens* (Venice, 1863).

[26] Setton, Vol. II, p. 655.

[27] W. R. Rüdt-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans* (Lisbon, 1963).

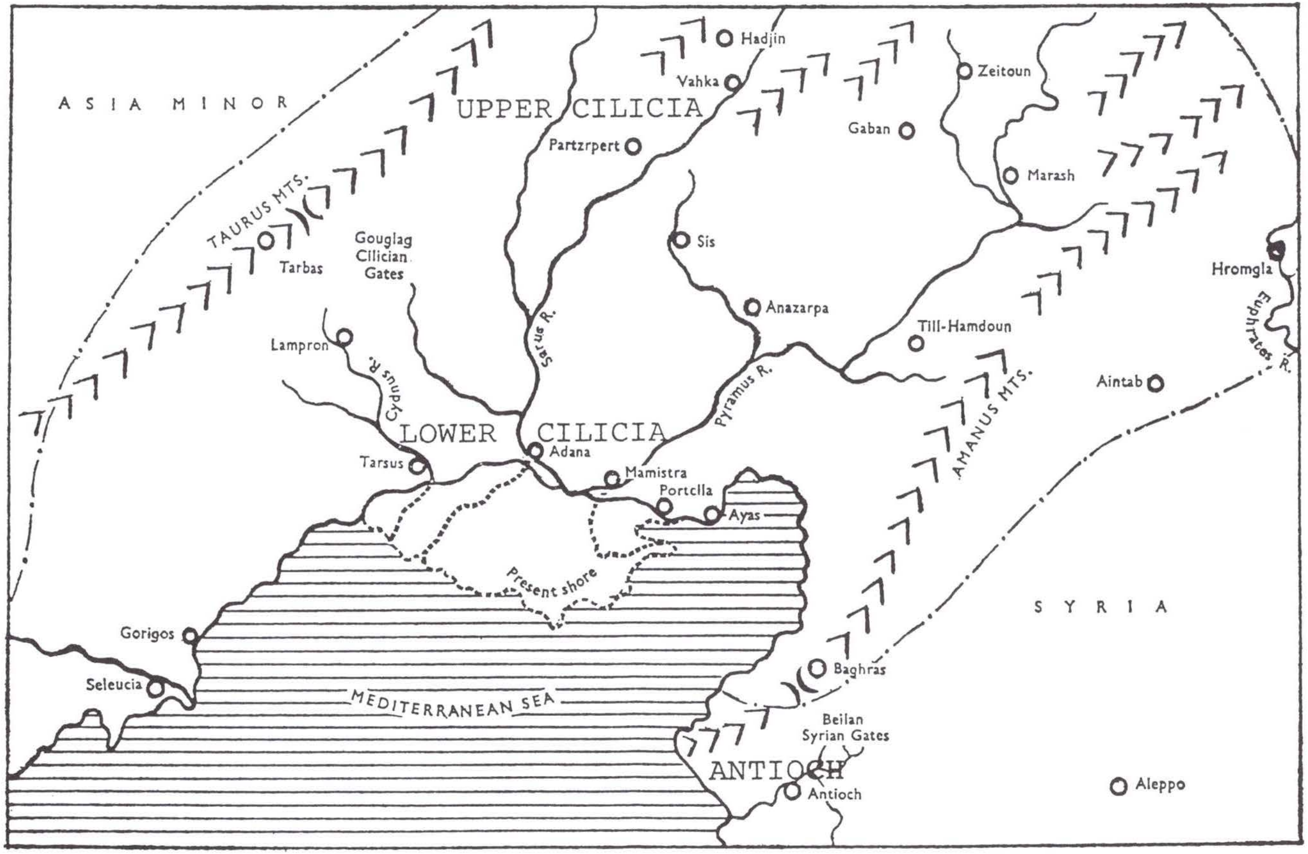
IMPORTANT DATES AND EVENTS IN ARMENIAN-ANTIOCHENE RELATIONS

1065-1100	Various Armenian rulers in Cilicia in service to the Byzantines.
1078-1085	Philaretus, an Armenian in service to Byzantium establishes control over eastern Cilicia, including Melitene, Marash, Edessa, and Antioch.
1080-1095	Roupen I, an adherent of the Armenian Church, establishes himself in the Taurus Mountains as an independent ruler.
1097	Crusader armies enter the plains of Cilicia, then occupied by the Turks.
1097 September	Tancred captured Tarsus and surrendered it to Baldwin of Boulogne.
1097 October 21	Crusaders begin the siege of Antioch.
1098 March 10	Baldwin of Boulogne assumes the title of count of Edessa.
1098 June 3	Crusaders capture Antioch and Bohemond of Taranto assumes the title of prince of Antioch.
1098-1100	Byzantines assume control of cities in Cilicia.
1100 August	Bohemond captured by the Dānishmendids and imprisoned.
1101 March	Tancred becomes regent of Antioch.
1100-1104	Tancred captures cities of Cilicia from Byzantines.
1104-1107	Byzantine army under Monastras captures the Cilician cities of Mamistra, Adana, and Tarsus.
1107-1112	Tancred, as regent of Antioch for the second time recaptures the Cilician cities from the Byzantines.
1112	Toros, the grandson of Roupen captures Anazarpa and makes it his capital.
1103-1112	Bohemond and Tancred strike copper coins in Greek characters. Toros strikes copper coins in Armenian characters.
1135-1137	Levon I captures the cities of Mamistra, Tarsus, and Adana.

1137	Emperor John Comnenus enters Cilicia and captures the cities from the Armenians.
1137	Raymond of Antioch submits to the emperor.
1138	Emperor returns to Cilicia, captures Levon and his wife, and two sons and carries them into captivity in Constantinople.
1142	John Comnenus returns to Cilicia and dies in the following year in a hunting accident.
1145	Toros II manages to escape from Constantinople, arrives in Cilicia and recaptures his ancestral mountain strongholds.
1151	Toros captures Mamistra and Til-Hamdoun.
1152	Toros routs the Byzantine forces under Andronicus Comnenus. Toros captures the cities in the plain of Cilicia.
1155	Toros and Reginald of Antioch invade and pillage Cyprus.
1158	Emperor Manuel enters Cilicia with a large army, captures the plain cities and Toros retreats to mountain strongholds.
1159	Emperor makes a triumphal entry into Antioch, Reynald on foot holds the emperor's bridle while Baldwin of Jerusalem rides behind him unarmed and uncrowned.
1162	Toros in avenging his brother's murder captures the cities of Cilicia and puts the garrisons to the sword.
1164	Toros in alliance with the Crusaders fights Nur-ad-Din, escapes capture at the disaster of Harim.
1172	Mleh, a brother of Toros and his successor seizes Adana, Mamistra, and Tarsus from the Byzantines with the help of the contingents of Nur-ad-Din.
1175	Armenian nobles kill Mleh and place Toros' nephew Roupen II in power.

1176	Byzantine forces decisively defeated by the Seljuks in Asia Minor ending Byzantine interference in the affairs of Armenia and the Latin East.
1182	Adana and Mamistra held by Isaac Comnenus captured by Roupen. Roupen II purchases Tarsus from Bohemond of Antioch. Cilicia entirely held by Armenians for the next two centuries.
1191	Armenian forces under Levon II assist Richard the Lionhearted in the siege of Acre.
1193 October	Levon II captures and imprisons Bohemond by a ruse.
1194	Levon's forces enter Antioch as condition for release of Bohemond. Antiochene citizenry expel Armenian forces.
1194	Henry of Champagne travels to Sis to arrange the release of Bohemond. Arrangements included marriage of Levon's niece Alice to Raymond, the eldest son of Bohemond, with the understanding that their offspring was to rule over Armenia and Antioch.
1194	The arrangement made Bohemond as vassal of Levon.
1198 January 6	Prince Levon II crowned king of Armenia becoming King Levon I.
1198	A son is born to Raymond and Alice and named Raymond-Roupen.
1201	Bohemond of Antioch dies.
1203 Nov. 11	In support of Raymond-Roupen, a detachment of Armenian troops enters Antioch, but retreats when Raymond of Tripoli invites al-Zahir of Aleppo for assistance. Levon strikes coins in Armenian characters to support his claim.
1208	Levon occupies Antioch a second time for a longer period but fails to capture citadel. Strikes Antiochene type coins in Latin characters.

1216 Feb. 16	Antioch surrenders to Levon. Raymond-Roupen installed as prince of Antioch. Typical Antiochene deniers struck bearing Raymond-Roupen's name in Latin characters.
1219 May 2	Death of Levon.
1221	Raymond-Roupen attempts to capture Cilicia for his own. Captured by Baile Constantine and dies in prison in 1222. Bohemond IV in control of Antioch.
1222	Philip, the son of Bohemond IV is married to Isabel (Zabel) the daughter of King Levon I and made king of Armenia.
1224	Philip displeases the Armenian nobles and attempts to transfer royal treasures to Antioch, is caught, imprisoned and dies in prison.
1226	Isabel (Zabel) marries Hetoum, the son of Constantine of Lampron. The joining of the two families strengthens Armenia.
1252	Bohemond V of Antioch dies.
1253	Hetoum visits the Great Mongol Khan Mongke in Karakorum and obtains alliance and favorable treatment of Armenians in Cilicia and Greater Armenia.
1253	King Louis IX of France arranges the marriage of Hetoum's daughter Sibylla to Bohemond VI of Antioch. Bohemond thus accepts Hetoum's suzerainty.
1258	Bohemond VI joins father-in-law Hetoum in alliance with the Mongols in defeating the Mamluks in Syria.
1266	Mamluk armies under Baibars invade and devastate Armenia.
1268 May 18	Mamluks capture and sack Antioch.
1289	Capture of Tripoli ends Crusader principalities in the East.



Map of Cilician Armenia

Upper Cilicia

1080-1375	Held by Armenians
1375-1920	Semi-independent Armenian towns
1920	France abandons mandate over Cilicia
	Armenians migrate to Lebanon and elsewhere

Lower Cilicia

1098-1100	Byzantine
1100-1104	Crusader
1104-1107	Byzantine
1107-1112	Crusader
1112	Anazarpa captured by Armenians
1135-1137	Partly held by Armenians
1137-1145	Byzantine
1145-1151	Armenian
1152-1162	Byzantine
1162	Partly Armenian
1172	Mostly Armenian
1182-1375	Armenian

Antioch

1078-1085	Armenian (Philaretus)
1098	Crusader
1137	Byzantine
1159	Byzantine
1162-1194	Crusader
1194	Armenian (temporary)
1203	Armenian (temporary)
1208	Armenian (temporary)
1216	Armenian (two years)
1253	Armenian (suzerainty)
1258	Armenian (suzerainty)[28]

[28] Originally published in *Handes Amsorya*, Vol. CI (1987), pp. 815-832.

THE SMALL, ARMED-MAN COINS OF BALDWIN II

(Plate 20)

The coinage of the Crusaders can be divided into two categories: the early pieces which were struck in Greek characters by the first generation of princes, from around 1098 to 1130, and the later pieces with Latin legends, struck by succeeding rulers until the collapse of the Crusader principalities in 1291. The coinage of two of those first generation principalities, Antioch and Edessa, deserves further study.

Antioch was part of the Byzantine Empire until its capture by the Arabs in 638. The 'Abbāsids struck coins there until 870 when the city again passed into the hands of the Byzantines. After that, for whatever reason, no coinage was struck in Antioch by the Byzantines or by the Turks who took over the city in 1084. When the Crusaders captured the city, anonymous bronzes (which as Bellinger indicated were imported from Byzantium)[1] were found in circulation. They weighed about 4.5 grams and differ markedly from the first Crusader bronzes weighing about 7.5 grams.

The history of the Crusader armies on their way to Jerusalem has been described in detail in scholarly publications.[2] At the time when the crusading armies were in Cilicia, Baldwin of Boulogne decided to move eastward rather than join the troops marching toward

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[1] A. R. Bellinger, *The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage* (New York, 1928); M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora 2: Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 109-115; P. D. Whitting, "The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Sixth Series, Vol. XV (1955), No. XLV, pp. 89-99.

[2] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. II (Cambridge, England, 1952); Rene Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, Vol. II (Paris, 1935); Kenneth M. Setton, Ed., *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1955).

Antioch. He had received an invitation from Toros, the childless Armenian ruler of Edessa, to come and inherit the town. Baldwin arrived in Edessa on February 6, 1098, and was welcomed by Toros and the Armenian population. He was adopted by Toros and became co-regent of Edessa. By March 10, through various intrigues, Baldwin had became sole ruler of Edessa.[3]

Other armies continued marching toward Antioch. Upon reaching the city, they laid siege to it and the Norman Bohemond of Taranto was one of several petty rulers who played an important role in its capture.[4] Through calculated maneuvers, he gained control of Antioch and, in spite of his oath to the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus to return Antioch to him, he claimed the city for himself, assuming the title of prince of Antioch. He ruled the city from June 3, 1098, until he was made prisoner by the Dānishmendids in 1100, striking heavy coins with a bust of St. Peter on the obverse and the cross as a tree of life and his initials on the reverse.

Fig. 1. *Chronology*

Antioch		*Edessa*	
1098-1100	Bohemond (captive, 1100-1103)	1098-1100	Baldwin of Boulogne (to Jerusalem)
1100-1003	Tancred (to Edessa)	1100-1104	Baldwin of Le Bourg (captive, 1104-1108)
1003-1004	second reign, Bohemond	1104	Tancred
1104-1112	second reign, Tancred	1104-1108	Richard
1112-1119	Roger of Salerno	1108-1118	second reign, Baldwin of Le Bourg (to Jerusalem)
1119-1126	Baldwin of Le Bourg	1119-1131	Joscelin
1126-1130	Bohemond II		

In the same year that Bohemond was taken captive, Godfrey of Bouillon, the king of Jerusalem, died. His brother Baldwin, ruling in Edessa, was invited to take his brother's throne. He appointed a distant relative, Baldwin of Le Bourg, as his replacement and departed for Jerusalem on October 2, 1100, with 200 knights and 700 footmen

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[3] Setton, pp. 299, 302-304; Runciman, pp. 195-196, 202-208; Grousset, pp. 43-61.
[4] Runciman, pp. 213-262; Setton, pp. 324-327, 373-375.

(see Figure 1).[5] He went by way of Antioch where he was offered the regency, as Bohemond had been taken prisoner some months earlier. He declined the offer and on November 9 reached Jerusalem. He was crowned King Baldwin I in Bethlehem on December 25, 1100, and Baldwin of Le Bourg became count of Edessa, ruling from 1100 to 1104, when the was taken prisoner in the battle of Harran, remaining in captivity until 1108.

Baldwin of Le Bourg was released from captivity in 1108 and took Edessa back from Richard. His second rule lasted for ten years (until he left for Jerusalem to be consecrated king).[6] During this period, he overstruck some of Bohemond's coins with his name as "count of Edessa." We must assume that the armed-man overstrikes were also issued in this period because they are found overstruck on Richard's coins but not on any bearing Baldwin's own name—implying that Baldwin had issued no coins during his previous reign. Furthermore, the armed man appears to be his type because at a later date, when he became regent of Antioch (1119-1126), he issued in his name a similar type, although on a smaller flan.

The mint in Antioch in which the heavy coppers had been struck for Bohemond from 1098 to 1100 apparently temporarily ceased its activities after he was taken prisoner by the Dānishmendids in 1100. For the almost three years that he was away, the understanding was that if Bohemond were freed within three years and Tancred was no longer needed, he would return to Galilee to obtain his former fief.[7] Since he was not an appointed regent, Tancred probably did not strike coins during this period and the three varieties of coins bearing his name fit into the later period of his regency in Antioch (1104-1112).

When Bohemond resumed his reign over Antioch (May 1103), he resumed striking coins bearing his name (Schlumberger, pl. 2, 9-10).[8] It is significant that beginning with these issues, Bohemond and all the succeeding rulers of Antioch issued small coppers only.

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[5] Setton, p. 381; Runciman, p. 36.
[6] Runciman, pp. 143-149; Setton, p. 419.
[7] Runciman, p. 32.
[8] G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1878).

In 1104, Bohemond sailed for Europe to raise a new army of Crusaders. Tancred became ruler of Antioch for the second time,[9] from 1104 to 1112, and issued coins bearing his name (Schlumberger, pl. 2, 12-14). On his death in 1112, Antioch passed into the hands of Roger of Salerno[10] who ruled for six years until June 28, 1119, when he was killed in battle against Il-Ghāzī. His coins are well known (Schlumberger, pl. 2, 15-17).

The city of Antioch was now left leaderless. Baldwin II, who had succeeded Baldwin I as king of Jerusalem on April 2, 1118, was invited by the citizens to become regent of Antioch. He accepted and retained his title as regent until 1126. It was during this seven-year term that Baldwin II issued the small, armed-man coppers bearing his name (Schlumberger, pl. 2, 18-23).

In 1126, the son of Bohemond I returned to Antioch to claim his father's rule as Bohemond II, prince of Antioch, 1126-1130.[11] It should be kept in mind that even at this late date, no coins were struck in Jerusalem, probably because of the absence of minting facilities.

The small, armed-man issues have been attributed to Baldwin I of Edessa. It is most unlikely, however, that any facilities existed for striking coins in the small town of Edessa which was incorporated into the Byzantine Empire in 1031. Edessa had very little history of mint activity. A few Umayyad and early ʻAbbāsid coppers from this town are known, the last ones being struck in 798. The next indication of minting activities there came in the early thirteenth century with the striking of the Ayyūbid issues.

If Baldwin I of Boulogne, the first ruler, had succeeded in establishing a mint in Edessa, it follows that Baldwin II of Le Bourg in his first reign, Richard of the Principate, and Baldwin II in his second reign would have utilized the mint to strike coins. The fact that not a single coin of these rulers has been found struck on a clean flan constitutes strong evidence that no mint was in operation

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[9] Seton, p. 392; Runciman, p. 47.

[10] Runciman, p. 125; Setton, p. 401.

[11] Runciman, p. 152; Setton, p. 414; F. R. Ryan, transl., *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem* (Knoxville, 1969), p. 231.)

Edessa. The order of overstrikes, discussed below agrees with the sequence of reigns.

Fig. 2. *Sequence of issues at Edessa*

Ruler	Dates	Issues
Baldwin I of Boulogne	1098-1100	No coins
Baldwin II of Le Bourg	1100-1104	No coins
Tancred as Regent	1104	No coins
Richard of the Principate	1104-1108	Coins overstruck on Bohemond
Baldwin II of Le Bourge (second reign)	1108-1118	Armed-man coins overstruck on Richard and Bohemond Baldwin coins overstruck on armed man, Richard and Bohemond

The evidence in favor of the issuance of the heavy copper coins in Antioch is convincing. It was a large industrial city where a mint could readily have been put in operation to strike coins during the two years that Bohemond was its ruler, not a difficult task for an ambitious and energetic man. In view of the fact that the anonymous bronzes had been in circulation for some time, it could be expected that he would choose an obverse design resembling them. On the reverse, he placed his name represented by the four letters B, Λ, Δ, and N in the angles of the cross.

The interpretation of these four letters has led to considerable confusion among numismatists, including de Saulcy,[12] Schlumberger,[13] and Porteous,[14] who read them as BαΛΔουιΝος. The letters could just as well be read, however, as ΒοΑμυΝΔος because in the early coinage of the Crusaders, the engravers, perhaps in ignorance of the letters Λ, A, and Δ used them interchangeably. Schlumberger himself was aware of this fact when he stated that four letters represented BαΛΔουιΝος or BΑλΔουιΝος.[15] Further proof attesting to the fact that the three letters were used interchangeably is

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[12] F. De Saulcy, *Numismatique de Croisades* (Paris, 1847).

[13] Schlumberger, p. 19.

[14] J. Porteous, "The Early Coinage of the Counts of Edessa," *Numismatic Chronicle,* Seventh Series, Vol. XV (1975), pp. 169-182, pls. 14-17.

[15] Schlumberger, p. 20.

provided by the legends of the small, armed-man coins. Thus, in Schlumberger (pl. 1, 9 and 12), the second letter is shown as Δ instead of A; in No. 11, the second letter is clearly A and not Δ; in No. 10, however, the third letter appears as A instead of Δ.

It is also interesting to note that, in coins of this period (1098-1130), the legend appears in a non-uniform order. For example, in Schlumberger, pl. 1, 7, it is written in circular clockwise fashion. In Nos. 8, 9, and 12, the legend on the left reads counterclockwise and on the right, clockwise. It can be concluded, therefore, that the four letters seen on the reverse of the heavy bronze coin under consideration can be read clockwise as BoAμυNΔoς or in Z fashion as BαΛΔoυιNoς. The succeeding rulers of Antioch, namely Tancerd, Roger, and Bohemond II, likewise issued coins which did not exhibit a uniformity in the presentation of the legend.

Having established that the three letters Λ, A, and Δ were used interchangeably, one is justified in reading the legend of Schlumberger, pl. 1, 5, with the letters B Λ Δ N not as BαΛΔoυιNoς but as B A Δ N or BoAμυNΔoς thereby attributing it to Bohemond I, prince of Antioch.

Merely a dozen or so of these coins are known to have survived. In addition, Porteous mentions another type, represented by a single specimen, with the letters XBBK in angles. Porteous reads this as Χριτε Βοηθεν Βαλδουινο Κομη. In the writer's opinion, the letter B stands for Bohemond rather than Baldwin.

All the remaining large bronzes of Bohemond have been overstruck. Porteous has made a painstakingly detailed study of sixty-six of these overstrikes in various museums and private collections. It is highly significant that every one of these pieces bears the name of Richard, or shows an armed man or the name of Baldwin. Not a single coin of the latter three types has been struck as an original issue on a blank. This can be explained by the lack of minting facilities in the small town of Edessa. Its rulers, Richard and Baldwin, had to be satisfied by overstriking the bronzes of Bohemond of Antioch.

In order to establish the premise that the small, armed-man coins bearing the name of Baldwin were struck during his regency in Antioch and not while he was ruler of Edessa, it is necessary to find

small, armed-man overstrikes on Roger or Tancred, the preceding rulers of Antioch. There are overstrikes of Tancred on Tancred, Roger on Roger, even Roger on Tancred but until recently small, armed-man overstrikes on Roger or Tancred had not been definitely identified.

Thanks to the interest and vigilance of Mr. Roberto Pesant whose studies on the coinage of the crusades are well known, several specimens have turned up which establish the existence of these overstrikes and definitely indicate that the small, armed man was struck in Antioch from 1119 to 1126 when Baldwin was regent of Antioch. Because of the poor condition of the coins and the difficulty of deciphering the overstrikes (some are palimpsests, or multiple overstrikes), a number of drawings prepared by Mr. Pesant are presented here along with the photographs of the coins.

Berlin (Plate 20, 1). Dr. H. D. Schultz of the Berlin Museum was kind enough to send a cast of this small, armed-man piece overstruck by Baldwin II on a Tancred coin. The overstriking is of the type shown in Schlumberger, pl. 1, 8. It is overstruck on the reverse of Tancred shown in Schlumberger, pl. 2, 6. The figure of the knight holding the cross with his right hand is clearly visible, and there are traces of some uncertain letters to the right. This coin appears to be a palimpsest. The reverse also shows evidence of more than one overstrike. As expected, the reverse represents ovestriking of the reverse of Schlumberger, pl. 1, 8, on the obverse of Schlumberger, pl. 2, 6. Parts of the large cross of Baldwin II and the halo of St. Peter belonging to the Tancred coin are still readily discernible, along with two letters.

Bedoukian (Plate 20, 2). This also appears to be a palimsest and represents Baldwin II overstruck on Tancred. The small, armed man (Schlumberger, pl. 1, 8) is overstruck on an uncertain type. The reverse shows the ornamental cross (Schlumberger, pl. 1, 8) overstruck on Tancred (Schlumberger, pl. 5, 1). The cross and the halo of the latter, and perhaps the head, are visible to the left of the ornamental cross. There are traces of letters to the right of the cross which appears to be XC.

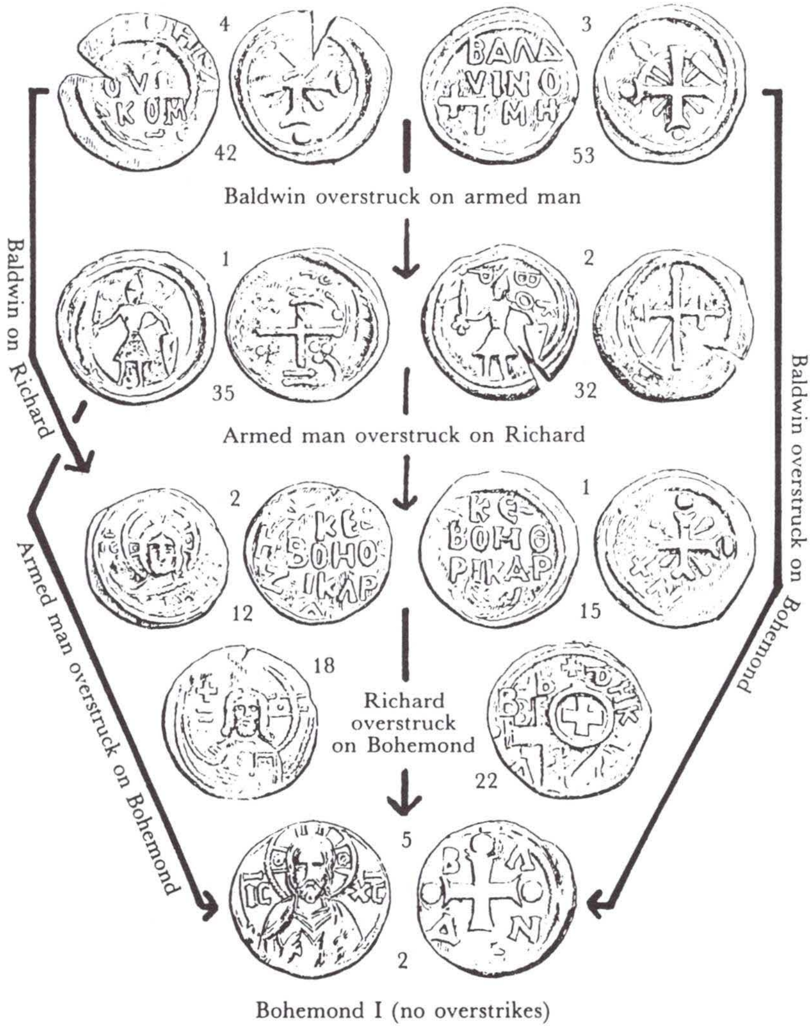

Fig. 3. *Sequence of overstrikes*

(The upper number corresponds to Schlumberger's pl. 1 numbers; the lower number corresponds to Porteous' catalogue numbers.)

Bibliothèque Nationale (Plate 20, 3). The obverse of this Baldwin II coin (Schlumberger, pl. 1, 10) is an overstrike on the obverse of Tancred (Schlumberger, pl. 2, 8). The reverse of the coin is in very poor condition, but traces of the letter **B** (reverse of Schlumberger, pl. 1, 10) can be seen. It seems to be overstruck on the reverse of Tancred (Schlumberger, pl. 2, 8), because one sees traces of the cross and part of the letter **P**.

Pesant (Plate 20, 4). The armed-man overstriking is clearly of the type in Schlumberger, pl. 1, 10, and is on Tancred (Schlumberger, pl. 2, 8). The reverse overstrike is again of the armed-man type (Schlumberger, pl. 1, 12) and the original coin appears to be that of Tancred (Schlumberger, pl. 2, 8).

Pesant (Plate 20, 5). On the obverse, the armed man (Schlumberger, pl. 1, 8 or 9) is overstruck either on Tancred (Schlumberger, pl. 2, 8) or possibly on the reverse of the armed man (Schlumberger, pl. 1, 12). The reverse shows the armed man (obverse of Schlumberger, pl. 1, 12) struck over an uncertain type. There is evidence of more than one overstrike.

Although we must allow for error in deciphering the overstrikes, many of which are palimpsests, Figure 3 gives us a clear picture of the order in which these coins were issued. It is apparent that Bohemond coins were the earliest and were struck in some quantity. They were overstruck first by Richard (no Richards are overstruck on the armed man or on Baldwin), then by the armed man (some armed-man coins are overstruck on Richard but none on Baldwin), and finally by Baldwin (on armed man, Richard and Bohemond).

After carefully examining all the evidence presented above, the writer has become convinced that upon becoming ruler of Antioch Bohemond struck a number of heavy coppers, that some of them were overstruck by the two rulers of Edessa, and that succeeding rulers of Antioch continued striking small coins, including those struck by Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, during the period when he was also regent of Antioch.[16]

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[16] Originally published in American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes*, Vol. 32 (1987), pp. 159-167, pl. 10.

COINAGE OF TRIPOLI
(XIIth-XIIIth CENTURY)

(Plate 21)

In studying the coinage of Tripoli, one is faced with a number of problems in making attributions. Since eight rulers—four Raymonds and four Bohemonds—struck several types of coins over a span of 150 years, the numismatist is faced with a puzzle that seems to defy solution.

De Saulcy (1847), Schlumberger (1878), Sabine (1980), and Metcalf (1983) wrote extensively on the coinage, but made attributions with many reservations.

In researching the coinage of Tripoli, the writer tried to bring together evidence available in 16 mixed Crusader hoards,[1] historical sequences[2] and numismatic data.[3]

It was felt that if all three supported one theory or attribution, then this theory can be considered acceptable until new findings—be they hoard, historical or numismatic—advance a different premise.

It is hoped that this paper, although its conclusions may differ with long-held attributions of certain coins, will at least stimulate interest in an area of numismatics long in a state of dormancy.

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[1] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "Sixteen Crusader Hoards," American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes* (in press). [Editor's Note: As of 2003, this work had not been published.]

[2] Much of the historical events was taken from three well-known publications: A). Kenneth M. Setton, Ed., *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1955), Vol. II (1962); B). Steven Runciman, *The History of the Crusades*, 3 volumes (Cambridge, England, 1951, 1952, and 1954); C). René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, 3 volumes (Paris, 1948).

[3] See above, note 1; and catalogue of this article.

Tripoli, unlike other Crusader principalities, was a dependency of Toulouse. It is not surprising that its coinage is closely related and patterned after the coinage of that city in the south of France.

Tripoli's last Toulousan ruler, Raymond III, left the principality to the son of Bohemond of Antioch. But before dying, Raymond stipulated that, should a Toulousan prince come to the East, he would have the right to claim the country.[4]

RAYMOND IV OF ST. GILLES, COUNT OF TOULOUSE

Raymond IV was a major figure among the crusading princes. He came to Constantinople in 1101 to spend the winter with Alexius whose confidence he enjoyed. He was a friend of the Pope and was respected as a senior prince.

The whole crusading army, composed of French, German, and Byzantine forces, moved across Asia Minor under Raymond's command. The trials and tribulations this army encountered on its march to Antioch are well documented.[5]

Raymond was the most powerful and wealthy of all the leaders. A pious ruler, he was determined to fulfill his vow of liberating Jerusalem. On his way to the Holy City, he captured Tortosa and decided to remain there instead of marching on to Jerusalem. His main objective was to capture Tripoli.

Tripoli was very well garrisoned. When Raymond attacked it with the assistance of the Genoese in 1103, his army was beaten back. He did, however, secure control of the surrounding countryside. Late in 1104, he attacked again and, in the course of battle, a burning roof fell on him. He died on February 28, 1105, perhaps as a result of his injuries.

It should be stated that Raymond IV of Toulouse is also known as Raymond I of Tripoli.

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[4] *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents occidentaux,* Vol. II (Paris, 1859), p. 72.

[5] See above, note 2; and John and Laurita Hill, *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse, 1962).

Coinage of Raymond I

As count of Toulouse, Raymond had a number of coins struck in France.[6] He did not have a mint in the East where he lived for only a short time. No coins exist from an eastern mint bearing his name.

BERTRAND OF TOULOUSE (1105-1109), OF TRIPOLI (1109-1112)

When Raymond IV of Toulouse left Europe for the crusade, he had no natural son. He left the government in the hands of his bastard son, Bertrand.

Raymond's wife, Elvira, accompanied him to the East. Just before Raymond's death, she gave birth to a son, Alfonso-Jordan. Raymond's cousin, William-Jordan, count of Cerdagne, who had recently arrived in the East, was appointed regent of the newborn baby.

In the meantime, the barons of Toulouse, not knowing of the birth of the child, had accepted Bertrand as their ruler. When they finally learned of the birth of Alfonso-Jordan, they sent word to the young heir, asking him to come home and rule his ancestral lands. Elvira, preferring life in France, sailed with the child and arrived in Toulouse in 1108. The child's regent, William-Jordan, did not accompany them, but stayed behind to rule the region of Tripoli.

It appears that the change in Toulousan rulers was made in an amicable manner. Bertrand was given lands in the East and sailed for them in the summer of 1108. He had ruled Toulouse for a decade and was a mature and wise man. He realized that, to establish a principality in the East, he must capture Tripoli and also neutralize William-Jordan, whose position was growing insecure.

Bertrand arrived with an army of 4,000 cavalry and infantry and a flotilla of 40 galleys. His son, Pons, accompanied him.

Bertrand astutely bought the services of the Genoese by promising them a favored commercial position once the city of Tripoli was captured. It is interesting that William-Jordan also recognized the

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[6] Faustin Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, Vol. II (Paris, 1860; reprint, Graz, 1961), p. 246, pl. LXXX, Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13.

necessity of securing the assistance of naval forces of the Genoese, but tried too late to enlist their alliance.

William-Jordan formed an alliance with Tancred, a hero of the First Crusade and prepared to prevent Bertrand from claiming his inheritance. The armies of William-Jordan and Tancred readied themselves to fight those of Bertrand and the Genoese. But just as the battle was in the offing, an appeal was made to the king of Jerusalem. The king sent Baldwin of Edessa to intervene and a court of justice was held.

An agreement was reached. William-Jordan was to keep Tortosa and Arga. Bertrand was given Jebail and Tripoli. But he had to capture Tripoli first.

In June of 1109, all the princes of the Frankish East combined their forces outside Tripoli. The king had 500 knights and as many infantry. Tancred brought 700 knights. They were joined by the forces of Bertrand and Baldwin of Edessa.

Seeing the power of these assembled forces, the Arab governor of Tripoli offered to surrender and the Franks entered Tripoli on July 12, 1109.

Upon entering the city, Bertrand assumed the title of count of Tripoli. Ignoring his obligations to Alexius of Constantinople, he affirmed his vassaldom to the king of Jerusalem.

Shortly thereafter, William-Jordan was killed under suspicious circumstances and Bertrand took over his lands.

Coinage of Bertrand

While in France, Bertrand, as ruler of Toulouse, had struck a number of deniers.[7] It is surprising and curious that there are a few exceedingly rare deniers of Bertrand with the legend BERTRANDUS COMES/CIVITAS TRIPOLIS. Four of these deniers are mentioned in a recent publication of Sabine.[8]

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[7] *ibid.*, p. 346, pl. LXXX, Nos. 14, 15, 16.

[8] C. J. Sabine, "The Billon and Copper Coinage of the Crusader County of Tripoli, c. 1102-1268," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Series, Vol. (CXL) XX (1980), pp. 71-112, pls. 9-14.

Since all are struck from different dies, it must be concluded that some quantities of these coins were issued.

Explaining the raison d'être of these deniers poses some difficulties. It is highly unlikely, if not impossible that these rare deniers were struck in the East.

It must be remembered that the first deniers of Antioch were struck during the reign of Raymond of Poitiers (1136-1149) some 25 years after Bertrand's death, and in Jerusalem during the rule of Baldwin III (1143-1163), over 30 years later. Tripoli apparently did not have a mint and one would not expect that Bertrand, in a period of two or three years, could have organized a mint. The answer to the problem must be sought elsewhere. We must also consider that there are no copper coins of Bertrand, whereas the succeeding rulers struck coppers in large numbers.

As mentioned above, Bertrand ruled Toulouse for 10 years and was wisely cooperative when the young heir, Alfonso-Jordan, returned home to assume control. Bertrand, while ruling Toulouse, struck coins in his own name.

Upon acquiring Tripoli, Bertrand struck deniers, very much of the same type and style as his deniers of Toulouse, but bearing the name of Tripoli. This consolidated his legal rights.

It may be that these coins were struck in Toulouse and brought to the East. Certainly there were no facilities to strike such coins in Tripoli.

Since the deniers of Bertrand bear the legend CIVITAS TRIPOLIS, one may conclude that they were struck after the capture of the city. Thus, Bertrand had less than three years before his death to strike coins in Toulouse and import them to Tripoli. Not an impossible task. It should be recalled that money in circulation in the Crusader principalities was mostly of European origin.

It is interesting that one of the four existing specimens of Bertrand is part of a hoard which consists largely of Tripoli pieces.[9]

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[9] See above, note 3.

PONS (1112-1137)

Pons continued his father's policy of allegiance to the king of Jerusalem and in many instances fought alongside the king as his vassal.

Throughout the history of the Crusader principalities, although the princes of the East recognized the sovereignty of the king, that recognition went only as far as it was enforceable. Whenever the princes felt strong enough, they rejected their obligations tothe king.

In 1122, Pons tried to renounce his allegiance to King Baldwin of Jerusalem, but was forced to submit. In 1131, he refused to allow King Fulk to pass through his lands, but was punished by the king and again forced into submission.

With the passage of time, however, the king's power diminished and the princes followed policies independent of him.

Coinage of Pons

Since Pons ruled for 25 years, there would have been many surviving specimens of his coins, had he ever struck coins. The evidence is that he did not have a mint in Tripoli and did not issue any coins.

Numismatists have considered the possibility that a single specimen with the legend TRI : PO : LIS/TRIPOVIS CIVITAS may have been struck by Pons. This piece is in the style of Toulouse deniers, and is probably a variation of Bertrand's issues, rather than of Pons. The idea that the middle two letters, PO in TRIPOLIS stand for the word PONS is unconvincing.[10]

It seems evident that Tripoli had not as yet begun striking coins during the reign of Pons.

RAYMOND II (1137-1157)

When Pons died, his son, Raymond, was 22. He was not a particularly wise or brave man and had a checkered career. For reasons

[10] See above, note 3; also G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1878), p. 101.

unknown, he marched on the Moslem leader, Zengi, who was laying siege to the city of Homs. When Zengi advanced on the Franks, Raymond retreated and called for the assistance of King Fulk of Jerusalem.

The ensuing battle was a disaster for the Christians. Raymond was taken prisoner. Baldwin barely escaped and took shelter in the fortress of Montferrant. Raymond was subsequently released under terms whereby Zengi gained control over Montferrant.

In 1148, Alfonso-Jordan, the count of Toulouse, came to the East with the Second Crusade. It was thought that he might try to claim Tripoli, thereby placing Raymond II in a difficult position.

But Alfonso met a different fate. On his way to Jerusalem, he died in agony and Raymond was accused of having poisoned him.

The young Bertrand of Toulouse, bastard son of Alfonso-Jordan, had come along on the journey and witnessed his father's horrible death. Bertrand could not endure the idea of the rich inheritance of Tripoli remaining in the hands of the man accused of murdering his father.

Young Bertrand managed to capture the castle of Araima and defied Raymond to dislodge him. Raymond approached several Crusader leaders, pleading for military assistance, but none would help him. He then called upon the Moslem leader, Nur-ad-Din, of Damascus. Nur-ad-Din came with a large army. The fortress was captured, looted, and leveled to the ground.

Bertrand and his sister were taken to Aleppo where they spent 12 years in captivity.

In 1152, at the gates of Tripoli, Raymond was struck down by assassins. He was the first Frankish leader to die at the hands of assassins.

Coinage of Raymond II

Raymond's fears of Alfonso indicate clearly the political position of Tripoli and Toulouse. Whether responsible for Alfonso's mysterious death or not, Raymond's actions against young Bertrand show clearly that, legally, Raymond was a liege of Toulouse, and not an independent ruler.

Nevertheless, political or economic necessity encouraged Raymond to establish a mint and strike coins. Raymond must have begun striking copper coins during the early years of his rule, before Alfonso-Jordan came East in 1146. As a dependency of Toulouse, he chose the design of the agneau pascal, or the horse and cross design, patterned after the copper of Alfonso-Jordan (1112-1148).[11]

The coins of Raymond II are scarce, but not rare. They are usually in poor condition, but the composite legend reads +RAIMUNDUS COMS/CIVITAS TRIPOLIS.

Both the styling and the striking of the coins indicate the workmanship of a newly established mint. Unlike other Crusader coins, very often the legend begins at a position other than 12 o'clock. The letters are often not uniform and are sometimes incomplete. And the cross usually found at the beginning of a legend is occasionally missing.

Hoard evidence is strongly in favor of attributing the horse-and-cross types to Raymond II. There are only 18 horse-and-cross coppers distributed among eight hoards, a much smaller number than other types of coppers. Most of the specimens are quite worn, pointing to long usage.

Thus, historical, hoard, and numismatic evidence is clearly in favor of attributing the horse-and-cross coppers to Raymond II.

RAYMOND III (1152-1187)

During his long reign, Raymond III was a leading figure in the Crusader principalities. He never publicly recognized the sovereignty of the king of Jerusalem. He had married a woman who had feudal obligations in Galilee. He realized that this made him, in the eyes of those ruling Galilee, a vassal of the king. Raymond III was deeply involved in politics, but retained his attitude of independence.

In 1164, Nur-ad-Din of Aleppo attacked the northern Crusader principalities. Prince Bohemond of Antioch called for the assistance

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[11] Poey d'Avant, p. 247, pl. LXXXI, Nos. 13, 16.

of Raymond as well as Toros of Armenia. In spite of Toros' warnings, the combined Crusader forces were ambushed and all the Crusader leaders were captured.

Toros and Bohemond were released, since they were considered to be vassals of the emperor of Byzantium and Nur-ad-Din did not want to antagonize the emperor.

Raymond, however, was imprisoned for nine years (1164-1173). He eventually was released upon payment of 80,000 dinars, a sum raised largely by King Amalric of Jerusalem and the Hospitallers.[12]

On July 11, 1174, King Amalric died, leaving the 13-year-old leper, Baldwin, as his successor. Baldwin was crowned by the patriarch and Raymond, as the closest kin, was chosen as regent for the young king. Five years later, Baldwin came of age and Raymond gave up his regency.

In the same year, Saladin began his campaigns against the Crusaders. Raymond repeatedly assisted King Baldwin in his wars against Saladin. The leper king appointed Raymond as regent of his young child. Raymond did not want the regency because the child was in ill health, and he didn't wish to bear any suspicions should the child suddenly die. But he was finally coaxed into accepting the regency with the understanding that Joscelin of Courtnay would be guardian of the child. Special arrangements were made for succession in case of the death of the child.

King Baldwin died at the age of 24. His child died the following year. Sibylle, the daughter of King Amalric of Jerusalem, was made queen, with Guy Lusignan as prince consort. Not having been consulted in this arrangement, Raymond refused to attend a conference of barons called by Guy.

In 1186, through the rash actions of Reynalds of Chatillon, the truce with Saladin was broken. Guy summoned the leaders to prepare for war, but both Bohemond of Antioch and Raymond of Tripoli refused to obey the king and made a separate truce with Saladin. Fortunately, thanks to the efforts of Balian of Ibelin, civil war among Christians was averted. But it was obvious that the king had lost much of his power among the Crusader leaders.

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[12] Runciman, Vol. II, p. 395.

Raymond did, however, fight beside Guy in the Battle of Horns of Hattin in 1187. In this decisive battle, the most powerful Christian army was pitted against the most powerful Moslem army. The Christian forces suffered a disastrous defeat from which the Crusader principalities never recovered. After the Moslem victory, Saladin was free to capture many Christian forts in rapid succession.

Raymond died soon after the battle.

Coinage of Raymond III

It is apparent from the political situation discussed above that Raymond III enjoyed a strong position and more than once acted independently of the king, even though accepting the latter's overlordhip. It is therefore not surprising that, unlike his father, he undertook to strike deniers and copper coins bearing his name. It is also interesting that the 16 hoards contain 83 coppers of Raymond III as compared to 18 struck by Raymond II.

Additional evidence supporting the attribution of the star-and-crescent coins to Raymond III is the fact that this style coinage was issued in Toulouse by Raymond V (1148-1194). This opinion is expressed by de Saulcy[13] and Schlumberger[14] both of whom observe that Raymond IV had no blood relations to the house of Toulouse, and being a prince of Antioch, had no reason to adopt the design of Toulouse. Hence the star and crescent belongs to Raymond III.

Lhotka, in his study of Medieval French coinage,[15] attributes what he calls "sun-and-crescent" types to Raymond V and VI of Toulouse. Sabine agrees with the above attributions.[16] It is noteworthy that Poey d'Avant prefers to give the star-and-crescent types to Raymond VI (1194-1222) and Raymond VII (1222-1249) of Toulouse. The Tripoli issues certainly point out, if not prove, that this type must

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[13] F. De Saulcy, *Numismatique des Croisades* (Paris, 1847), pp. 50, 51, pl. VII, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7.

[14] Schlumberger, p. 102, pl. IV, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7.

[15] J. F. Lhotka, *Medieval Feudal French Coinage*, reprinted from *The Numismatist*, Vol. 78 (1965), No. 4, pp. 499-507; No. 6, pp. 890-894; No. 9, pp. 1395-1404; No. 12, pp. 1864-1875.

[16] Sabine, p. 79.

have been issued by Raymond V (1148-1194) of Toulouse, since politically and numismatically, Tripoli followed the lead of Toulouse.

Hoard evidence also supports the attribution of star-and-crescent issues to Raymond III. A total of 12 billons in five hoards and 80 coppers in 15 hoards clearly shows that these were issues struck after the horse-and-cross coppers.

The condition of the coins also indicates they were not the earliest issues.

It is thus seen that historical, hoard, and numismatic evidence strongly favors the attribution of the star-and-crescent coins to Raymond III.

The Castle-Type Coppers

The most abundant of all the issues of Tripoli are the coppers having a castle or castle gate on one side and a cross on the other. The cross has a circle at its center and annulets at the end of each arm. These coins do not bear a ruler's name and there has been some speculation about their proper attribution and the date of earliest issue.

Since such a large number of coins were found in 16 hoards (225 pieces), it can be assumed that, once issued, the coins were struck again and again during the reigns of succeeding rulers as "types immobilisés."

De Saulcy mentions that the Tripoli castle coins may have been struck during the captivity of Raymond III (1164-1173).[17] This is highly improbable because the design of the castle gate is patterned after the coins of Bohemond III of Jerusalem who died in 1163. Schlumberger is in favor of assigning them to Raymond III.[18] Sabine places the beginning of the castle types sometime after Raymond's release from captivity.[19]

Historical evidence supports the theory that the castle types of Tripoli were first struck shortly after the assassination of Raymond

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[17] De Saulcy, p. 51.
[18] Schlumberger, p. 103.
[19] Sabine, p. 109.

III's father in 1152. At the time, Raymond was only 12 years old and King Baldwin III of Jerusalem was in Tripoli. Baldwin persuaded the barons of Tripoli to pay homage to the Countess Dowager Hodierna in the name of her son[20] and Baldwin himself became regent of young Raymond III.[21]

Under the circumstances, it is not unthinkable that Tripoli would adopt a style of coinage patterned after that of King Baldwin III of Jerusalem. Baldwin, as regent of the young Raymond, was essentially in power during the years that Raymond remained a minor. It was politically expedient to strike coins bearing just the name of Tripoli. Plus, ties with Toulouse were no longer very strong nor desirable.

Since there are so many examples found in the 16 hoards, it may be assumed that the coins were struck over a long period of time.

The Moneta Coppers

The rulers of Tripoli struck another type of copper which has the inscription RAYMUNDI COMITIS/MONETA TRIPOLIS.

This inscription bears the name of Raymond, but it is difficult to decide to which of the four Raymonds the copper belongs.

Both de Saulcy[22] and Schlumberger[23] believe that since the copper is unlike any of the other coins bearing the legend CIVITAS TRIPOLIS, the coin must be an earlier issue, probably belonging to Raymond II.

Sabine[24] assigns the coins to an even earlier issue (circa 1102-1109), and assumes MONETA TRIPOLIS implies that Tripoli was not in the hands of the Crusaders when these coins were struck.

It is difficult to accept any of the above arguments.

If these coins were struck as early as 1102, then it would have to be assumed that a mint existed at this early date, and that the coins were struck before the city was captured. A highly unlikely possibility.

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20 René Grousset, *The Epic of the Crusaders* (New York, 1970), p. 123.

21 Setton, Vol. I, p. 536.

22 De Saulcy, p. 50.

23 Schlumberger, p. 102 and pl. IV, Nos. 9-15.

24 Sabine, pp. 74, 105.

It is true the legend differs from the other coins of Tripoli, but this does not necessarily indicate that the coins were struck before all the other issues.

The sixteen hoards contain 18 coppers of horse and cross type, 43 of Moneta type, and 80 of Raymond III coppers. The hoard evidence thus indicates that the Moneta coppers could not have been an early issue and were most likely struck after the horse and cross types.

History tells us that Raymond III was held captive from 1164 to 1173. During this time, Tripoli was under the protection of King Amalric of Jerusalem. Indeed, Raymond designated Amalric as regent[25] and, during Raymond's detention, Amalric held the bailage of Tripoli. Under these circumstances, it is reasonable to consider that the Moneta coppers were struck during Raymond's captivity.

The design on the coins, four annulets at the four arms of the cross, may have been patterned after the 10th and 11th-century coins of the counts of Angoulême.[26]

RAYMOND IV OF TRIPOLI (1187-1189?)

One of the most intriguing and difficult problems facing the numismatist is the existence of deniers of the type struck during the reign of Bohemond IV and bearing the name of Raymond. To make matters worse, the historical evidence is confusing.

There are two important contemporary sources dealing with the events in the Latin Orient during the life of Raymond III. By far the most reliable source is William of Tyre, but his history ends in 1184, three years before the death of Raymond III.

The second source, dealing with the last years of Raymond's life, is titled, "The Continuation of William of Tyre." It is written in old French and the author is unknown, but is thought to be Ernoul, the squire of Balian of Ibelin. The work is written in the style of an eyewitness account. The earliest manuscripts date from the begin-

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[25] Setton, Vol. I, p. 551.

[26] Poey d'Avant, p. 51, pl. LVII, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

ning of the 13th century.[27] Modern historians have accepted the version given by Eracles.[28]

According to Eracles, when Bohemond III of Tripoli realized he was near death and had no heir to defend his country, he asked his friend and relative, Bohemond III of Antioch, to send his eldest son, Raymond, to Tripoli to rule the city. Raymond was the godson of Bohemond of Tripoli, had earlier fought beside Bohemond of Tripoli at Hattin and had accompanied Bohemond to Tripoli.

Eracles also states that Bohemond of Antioch declined to send Raymond, whom he needed to defend Antioch, and instead, sent a younger son, Bohemond, to Tripoli. The dying count was forced to accept Bohemond's decision. He turned over all rights to young Bohemond and ordered that homage be paid him.

This passage from Eracles has led modern numismatists to accept categorically that Bohemond, the younger son of Bohemond III of Antioch, succeeded Raymond III and that there was no such ruler as a Raymond IV of Tripoli and hence no coinage can be attributed to him.[29]

In contrast, both de Saulcy and Schlumberger[30] accept the rule of Raymond IV and assign to him the star deniers bearing the name of Raymond.

It is also interesting that the editors of RHC[31] agree that a Raymond IV did rule Tripoli, but this opinion is based on the writings of du Cange[32] written in 1678.

The Armenian historian, Hetoum,[33] writing in 1296, states that the son of Bohemond (meaning Raymond), count of Tripoli, died in the year of the Armenian era 650, or between 1202 and 1203.

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[27] M. W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripoli and the Fall of Jerusalem* (Princeton, 1936), pp. 162-163.

[28] See above, note 4, p. 72.

[29] D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East* (London, 1983); see also Sabine.

[30] De Saulcy, p. 53; Schlumberger, p. 102.

[31] See above, note 4, p. 72 footnote.

[32] Du Cange, *Les familles d'Outre-Mer* (Paris, 1869), p. 484.

[33] *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents arméniens,* Vol. II (Paris, 1906), p. 480.

Other modern historians[34] merely quote the passage appearing in Eracles, without passing judgment on the succession of Raymond IV as count of Tripoli.

Baldwin[35] summarizes the existing evidence and points out that there is no document bearing the name of Raymond IV. Also he states that the earliest document issued by Bohemond IV as count of Tripoli bears the date 1189.

Coinage of Raymond IV

While historical evidence is not entirely convincing, one cannot overlook the possibility that there may have been someone named Raymond IV and that this person may have ruled Tripoli for a short period.

Certainly the deniers clearly reading RAIMUNDUS must belong to him rather than Raymond III, whose coinage has an entirely different design. The fact that the Raymond deniers are rare merely indicates they were issued over a short time, possibly two years.

The hoard evidence is also in favor of the existence of a Raymond IV. In the 16 hoards, three billons definitely read: RAIMUNDUS. Four others have the same legend, but are written with an "R" that looks like an open "B".

The attribution of these Raymond IV deniers to Raymond III[36] is unacceptable to this writer. It should be remembered that Raymond III was a prisoner for nine years, from 1164 to 1173, and that he died in 1187. If these issues were struck during the last 14 years of his life, then surely there would have been many more surviving specimens. Also, there was no reason for Raymond III to issue a new design of coin after his release from captivity. He was not a rich man. Others had to raise money for his release. Under these conditions, it is difficult to accept that he was able to design and issue a new type of denier.

Numismatic evidence supports the historical and hoard data. Raymond IV deniers are usually well-struck and in better condition

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[34] Runciman, Vol. II, p. 470; Setton, Vol. II, p. 526; Grousset, Vol. II, p. 824.

[35] Baldwin, p. 138.

[36] Sabine, p. 103; Metcalf, pp. 44-49, pl. 15.

than those bearing the name Bohemond. It should be remembered that kings of Armenia often began their coinage with fine issues, but, as time went on, the quality of the workmanship declined so that the later issues were generally poor in style and fabric.

This argument may be used in the case of Crusader coins. The coins of Raymond, struck over a short time, were very well struck. Raymond's younger brother, Bohemond IV, ruled Tripoli for a much longer time. As time went on, less and less attention was paid to the coinage quality. Thus, many of the later Bohemond deniers are poorly struck.

The origin of the design of the eight-pointed star is also of interest. Schlumberger claims the star is merely a degeneration of the star-and-crescent motif.[37]

BOHEMOND IV, COUNT OF TRIPOLI (1189-1233), PRINCE OF ANTIOCH (1213-1233)

There is some question about the actual date Bohemond IV assumed the title of count of Tripoli, but he did rule that city until his death in March of 1233. His father, Bohemond III of Antioch, died in 1201. When Bohemond IV's brother, Raymond of Antioch, died in 1213, Bohemond became ruler of Antioch as well as Tripoli. Taking over rule in Antioch was not easy for Bohemond, but eventually, he gained control of the city.[38]

Bohemond was a capable man and even his enemies admired his refined ways and learning as a lawyer. He was an adept diplomat and managed to profit from the crusade of Frederick and consolidate his position. Although the 10-year peace treaty signed by Emperor Frederick did not apply to Bohemond's holdings, this treaty brought a breathing spell to the Christian principalities of the East.

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[37] Schlumberger, p. 104.

[38] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "A Unique Billon of Levon I of Cilician Armenia and Its Historical Significance," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Series, Vol. VII (1967), pp. 189-197, pl. XIV; also in SNS [I], pp. 103-112.

Coinage of Bohemond IV

Bohemond was in charge of Tripoli for over 40 years and he struck deniers in his name. The lack of coppers of similar design would lead us to believe the castle-type coppers, of which many survive, continued to be circulating as "types immobilisés."

Neither de Saulcy nor Schlumberger expresses a definite opinion on the coinage of the late Bohemonds.

Sabine[39] gives the star deniers with the legend RAMUNDUS COMS/CIVITAS TRIPOLIS to Raymond III, and BAMUNDUS COMS/CIVITAS TRIPOLIS to Bohemond IV (1187-1233).

There is a similarity in type, styling, and legend, indicating one coin follows the other. However, the very small number of surviving specimens in the 16 hoards shows that the Bamundus deniers were only initial issues, struck for a short time.

The large number of deniers with the legend BAMUND COMS/ CIVITAS TRIPOL must be given to Bohemond IV who ruled for a long period of time. His coinage is represented by the badly struck deniers which have three dots in the first quarter of the cross.

BOHEMOND V (1233-1252)

Bohemond V succeeded his father. He was not a strong man and was disliked by the Commune of Antioch. He inherited Antioch, a city impoverished by wars and open to constant incursions by the Moslems. Commerce had declined greatly and Antioch was separated from Tripoli by a territory—Latakia and Jebata—occupied by the Moslems.[40]

In contrast, his county of Tripoli was in close contact with the kingdom of Jerusalem, had a prosperous port and was flourishing. In addition, Tripoli had excellent defenses.

Coinage of Bohemond V

It is difficult to speculate on the coinage of the last three Bohemonds. There is an abundance of deniers with three dots in the

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[39] Sabine, p. 103.

[40] Runciman, Vol. II, p. 207.

first quarter of the cross, and these may have been struck by Bohemond V, since the legend is changed from BAMUNDUS COMS /CIVITAS TRIPOLIS to BAMUND COMS/CIVITAS TRIPOL. If the latter legend is assigned to Bohemond V, then we must agree that few deniers were struck during the 43-year reign of Bohemond IV.

A compromise can be made by assuming the latter coins were issued by Bohemond IV and continued to be struck during the reign of succeeding Bohemonds, just as the castle-type coppers continued to be issued until the extinction of the county.

More definite attributions can be made only with the discovery of hoards and other evidence.

BOHEMOND VI (1252-1275)

Bohemond VI was 15 when his father died. He began his rule under his Italian mother's regency. King Louis IX of France was in the East and assisted Bohemond in gaining full control of his principality.

Louis saw the weak position of the Crusader holdings and understood the necessity of strengthening existing forces.

Cilician Armenia was the major force in the region and, in 1254, Louis arranged the marriage of Bohemond to Sibylla, daughter of Hetoum I (1226-1270) of Armenia. The Armenian king agreed to take the responsibility of defending Antioch, so that, in effect, Bohemond became the vassal of Hetoum.

Political necessity required the cooperation of Armenia and Antioch. Hetoum's predecessor had attempted and failed to bring Antioch into the orbit of Armenia, but Louis' actions brought about a successful alliance.

Subsequent events show that Bohemond repeatedly was at his father-in-law's side in the alliances in the Latin East.

Hetoum had established a close alliance with the Mongols. When the Mongol leader, Hulagu, captured Aleppo, Hetoum received some of the lands captured by the Seljuks and Latakia was returned to Bohemond with some adjacent territories.

In 1260, when Hulagu and his Mongol warriors entered Damascus, the forces of Hetoum and Bohemond were with him. When Hetoum visited Hulagu in 1264, Bohemond accompanied him.

The tide was soon to turn.

Under the able leadership of Baibars, the Mamluks fought back, Armenian and Mongol forces held off the Mamluk resistance, but, in 1265, after much fighting, the towns of Haifa and Arsuf fell to Baibars.

The Mongol Khan Hulagu died in 1265 and Abagha succeeded him. Baibars vigorously continued his attacks and managed to capture several Christian holdings.

In 1266, the Mamluks entered Cilician Armenia. Anticipating the coming danger, Hetoum hurried to the court of Abagha to ask for assistance.

On August 24, 1266, the Mamluk forces decisively defeated the outnumbered Armenians and devastated the towns of Cilician Armenia. Hetoum returned with a small Mongol force to find his country in ruins, one of his sons killed in battle, and his heir taken to Egypt in captivity.

It was a blow from which Cilician Armenia never recovered.

In 1267, Baibars tried unsuccessfully to capture Acre. But the following year, he appeared in front of the walls of Antioch. He ordered a second army to the Syrian Gates to prevent any help from Armenia.

Bohemond was in Tripoli. The undermanned garrison of Antioch was unable to withstand the full assault. The city fell on May 18, 1268, and was nearly destroyed.

The rich were able to ransom themselves, but many notables were put to the sword. The loss of Antioch was a severe blow and heralded the end of the Crusader East.

Bohemond, realizing the weakness of his position, sued for peace. Baibars felt secure insofar as the Frankish states were concerned, but he feared a new Mongol assault. He granted a 10-year truce to Bohemond. By then, no inland fortresses remained in Christian hands.

A new crusading force arrived at Acre on May 9, 1271, under the leadership of Edward, son of Henry III of England. He at once

sought the assistance of the Mongols, but was able to receive only a force of 10,000 horsemen.

At the same time, there was talk that the powerful Charles of Anjou was planning a crusade. Baibars attempted to have Edward assassinated. The plan failed, but Edward was seriously wounded.

A truce for 10 years and 10 months was signed on May 22, 1272. Edward returned to England to find himself king.

Thus the Christian principalities obtained a breathing spell.

Bohemond VI died on May 11, 1275.

Coinage of Bohemond VI

It remains uncertain whether Bohemond struck any deniers during his reign. One might surmise that the striking of old deniers continued along with the issue of castle-type coppers.

The existence of the handsome silver gros and half-gros must belong to the reign of Bohemond and his successor. These silver pieces are similar to the gros tournois which appeared during the reign of Louis IX in 1266. It thus appears that the Bohemond gros were struck after that date.

The gros tournois appears in finds from the East.[41] It is likely that when King Louis arrived from Egypt, the coins were placed in circulation and became popular. Bohemond VI and VII struck similar coins in their name for circulation. Since the ones bearing the inscription BOEMUNDUS COMES SEPTIMUS must be given to Bohemond VII, the others bearing no "SEPTIMUS" can reasonably be attributed to Bohemond VI.

BOHEMOND VII (1274-1287)

When his father died, Bohemond was 14. King Hugh, as the next adult heir, claimed regency.

Bohemond's mother, Princess Dowager Sibylla of Armenia, however, assumed office at once. When Hugh arrived in Tripoli to take

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[41] See above, note 1.

over the regency of Bohemond, he found the boy had been sent to the court of his uncle, Levon III of Armenia.

Over the years, the Templars of Jerusalem opposed Sibylla. When Bohemond VII, no longer a minor, arrived in Tripoli to assume control of the government, he faced the opposition of the order. Eventually he was forced to wage a terrible fight with the Templars.

In 1281, the Mongol armies, assisted by Georgian forces and the troops of Levon III of Armenia, advanced into Syria, laying waste to many towns along the way. In the battle of Homs, the Mongol leader, Timur, was wounded and retreated. Levon had to fight his way out of battle.

Bitter rivalries and animosities in Christendom made united efforts impossible. Aside from the Franks, the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese were always at each other's throats for commercial gains.

Europe itself could not manage to unite with the Mongols to oppose the Mamluks. The cause of the Outremer was lost because of negligence and pettiness of rulers of the West.

Coinage of Bohemond VII

Again it is uncertain whether any denier were struck during the reign of this ruler. Possibly the castle-type coppers were issued as petty coinage and perhaps the six-pointed denier was issued by this last count of Tripoli.

Certainly the beautiful gros and demi-gros bearing the legend BOEMUNDUS COMES SEPTIMUS belong to him.

A few of these silvers have been found in the hoards proving they circulated alongside common deniers and coppers in the Latin East.[42]

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[42] Originally published in *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, Vol. CXXXIV (1988), pp. 107-127.

TRIPOLI COINS
In Sixteen Crusader Hoards[43]

Hoard	Raymond II	Raymond III (1152-1187)				Raymond IV	Bohemond IV
		Minority	Ruler		Captivity		
	1137-1152	1152-58	1158-64 1173-87		1164-73	1187-89	1189-1232
	Lamb & Cross	Castle	Star & Crescent		Moneta	Eight pt. Star	Eight pt. Star
	Schl. IV-8	Schl. IV 9-15	Schl. IV 4-7		Schl. IV-3	Schl. IV-16	Schl. IV-17
	Fig. 1	Fig. 2-3	Fig. 4	Fig. 5	Fig. 6	Fig. 7	Fig. 8
	Cu	Cu	Bil.	Cu	Cu	Bil.	Bil.
1	0	5	0	1	0	0	6
2	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
3	0	9	0	5	5	1	0
4	2	33	1	6	4	1	1
5	3	14	0	7	3	0	1
6	0	2	0	1	0	1	0
7	3	34	8	8	7	0	4
8	2	21	1	8	5	0	5
9	0	29	0	8	1	0	0
10	9	10	0	4	0	0	2
11	2	9	1	4	2	0	1
12	4	26	1	11	6	0	2
13	0	18	0	8	6	1	2
14	1	9	0	5	0	1	2
15	0	5	0	1	0	2	3
16	0	10	0	5	3	0	3
	18	225	12	80	43	7	33

[43] The numbers refer to plates and numbers of Schlumberger.

MINTS AND MONEY, ARMENIAN

(Plate 22)

Historically, Armenia is the land encompassed by the Caspian, Mediterranean, and Black seas. Because of its geographical position, it has repeatedly been invaded by the forces of powerful empires, and it has had few periods of total independence. This fact helps explain why monetary circulation in Armenia has been dominated by the coinage of Persians, Romans, Arabs, Byzantines, and, more recently, Turks and Russians. During Armenia's independent intervals, however, its rulers struck coins that are quite distinctive and possess considerable artistic merit.

The earliest extant coins were in copper and were issued by the rulers of Sophene and Commagene in southwest Armenia during the third and second centuries before Christ. Only recently has a classification of the coinage of this period been published.

The next dynastic rulers were the Artaxiads, whose reign lasted 200 years (ca. 189 B.C. to ca. A.D. 6). One of their kings, Tigran II the Great (95-ca. 55 B.C.), established a powerful state extending from the Caspian to the Mediterranean seas. With the capture of Antioch and other territories inhabited by Greeks, Armenian coinage came to be greatly influenced by Greek traditions.

Artaxiad coins are quite distinctive. In almost all cases the obverse bears the image of the king, turned right, diademed, and wearing the ornate five-pointed Armenian tiara, edged with pearls. The tiara is normally decorated with an eight-rayed star placed between two eagles that are back to back, but with their heads turned to each other. This design appears in modified forms on the smaller copper coins of the later kings. On the reverse are a variety of images, including various deities and animals; these images often reflect the influence of the coinage of the Seleucids. The legends are in

Greek as the coins were struck before the invention of the Armenian alphabet.

The Artaxiad coins are rare and only recently have been subjected to systematic study. In the early years of the kingdom, the coinage consisted of silver tetradrachms and drachms, along with various denominations of copper and bronze. There are no known gold coins of the Artaxiads. With the gradual weakening of the kingdom from its continuous wars against Rome, the coinage eventually became limited to copper. In addition to the mint in Antioch, where Tigran the Great struck a large number of coins, a mint probably existed in the main capital city of Artashat (Artaxata); there may also have been one in Tigranakerta, where Tigran the Great had his capital for a number of years. A limited number of coins were also struck in Damascus.

The ancient Armenians were mountaineers and warriors—commerce was not their main occupation. For this reason, perhaps, extensive coinage was not undertaken. Various hoard studies indicate that even during the period of the Artaxiads, Greek and Roman coins were in circulation in Armenia.

During the millennium following the fall of the Artaxiads, Armenia was politically under the influence of various foreign powers. From the fifth to the seventh century Armenia was dominated by the Persians, and it appears that some mints were maintained, but a definitive investigation of the coins actually struck in Armenia during this period has yet to be made. The Arabs, who dominated Armenia from the seventh to the ninth century, struck numerous coins bearing the name Armenia or the name of a city in Armenia. The Byzantines, who ruled over parts of Armenia for long periods, apparently did not maintain mints in these territories. Finally, the Turkish invaders who established themselves in Armenia in the eleventh century, and the Mongols who followed them in the thirteenth, struck coins bearing the name of the mint and the rulers.

Curiously, in the second half of the eleventh century, a minor ruler in Caucasian Armenia issued coins in Armenian bearing his name. The circumstances under which Kiurike of Loṛi-Tashir struck these coins are not clear.

After the conquest of their homeland by the Seljuk Turks, the Armenians were able to establish their rule in Cilicia and maintain it for 300 years (1080-1375). The early princes struck a limited number of copper coins; but with the coronation of Prince Leo (Levon) as king in 1198/1199, an enlarged mint was organized in the capital city of Sīs, and another in Tarsus. Many coins were issued in silver and copper, and ceremonial pieces were struck in gold. Succeeding kings continued striking silver and copper coins in impressive numbers, indicating the commercial vitality of the nation. The most important type of silver coin, called tram, originally weighed about three grams and was high in silver content. In the later period of the kingdom, the silver coinage was debased, and a new type of coin, known as takvorin, was introduced. The copper coins were mainly in three denominations—tank, kardez, and pogh. The coinage of Cilician Armenia has been carefully researched during the past few decades.

The developing interest in Armenian coins in the past thirty years has resulted in a better understanding of the coinage of Armenia and an increase in the number that have found their way into collections where they can be studied. In 1960, the number of Armenian coins in various public and private collections was estimated to be 12,000. That number today exceeds 60,000 and is expected to grow in the coming years.[1]

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[1] Originally published in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Vol. 8 (1987), ed. J. R. Strayer, pp. 417-418.

MINTING TECHNIQUE IN CILICIAN ARMENIA

(Plates 23-25)

Numismatists* are obliged to study not only the value of coins, their weights, and the names of the kings who issued them, but also related questions such as the purity of their metal, the extent of their circulation, and so forth. It is also important and interesting to study the methods which were used at various times to strike coins. This article is devoted to an examination of minting techniques which were used in medieval Cilician Armenia.

The art of striking coins is very ancient. It is generally accepted that eight centuries before Christ, for the first time, the kings of Lydia in Asia Minor impressed pieces of pure silver and gold metal of specified weight with their seals, and assigned to them accepted values for commerce. These pieces began to be used as money, and were exchanged for goods. The Greek historians Xenophanes (6th-5th century B.C.) and Herodotus (484-425 B.C.) wrote about this and mention the coins of King Croesus of Lydia. We also see older pieces of gold and silver which have defined weights and bear the stamp of merchants, showing that these pieces were used like money in commerce. In even more ancient times, as can be read in Bible, specific weights of silver or gold were given in exchange for goods.

Striking of coins began in Lydia because that country was advanced commercially and also had gold and silver mines within its borders. By stamping his seal on a specified weight of pure metal, a king could promote daily commerce and open a rich source of revenue for himself or his government. The value of the metal in a coin

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was almost always less than the value of pure silver or gold, thereby securing an important profit for the minter.

Coin minting spread quickly through the Mediterranean lands. There are thousands of gold and silver coins from this period which have great historical and artistic value. On some of the most ancient coins we can see on one side the picture of an animal (generally representing the deity of the minting city), and on the reverse side a punch mark. Often these are plain metallic pieces and not always circular (see Figure 1 which shows a 7th century B.C. gold coin of Phocea). Later, coins were struck with pictures on both sides. Gradually, inscriptions were also added to the coins. The most attractive Greek coins were struck between 480 B.C. until the time of Alexander the Great in 330 B.C. Alexander spread the practice of coinage in the East and struck millions of silver and also gold coins to pay his armies. At this period, we see the king's portrait and also his name inscribed on the coins. This custom continued with various changes for many centuries. The ancient Greeks, being an aesthetically-minded people, paid special attention to the artistic appearance of their money. With few exceptions (one of these being the very large Roman aes bronze coinage), ancient coins like modern coins were struck. That is, coins were made using a pair of dies and a hammer, rather than cast.

The manufacture of coins required the preparation of dies, which in turn required highly skilled engravers and especially expertise in metal working. Several coinage dies from the Greek period have reached us. These are made of copper containing 18 to 22 percent tin (thus a bronze), which is a hard alloy composition appropriate for coinage. Modern coinage dies are prepared from steel, but in ancient times, the requisite means for making steel was not available.

To prepare the dies, artists first made the engraving or intaglio, just as jewels were prepared. To prepare dies in hard metal required long work by engravers. To make this time-consuming and expensive effort as simple as possible, several "working" dies were prepared from single "mother" die. The mother die was first engraved with the same relief as a coin. Working dies prepared from

this were negatives, like an impression in sealing wax. Thus, several working dies would be struck in soft metal from the hard metal mother die. The working dies were then hardened by tempering. In this way, several thousand coins could be struck from one die. If the working dies were sometimes unsatisfactory, with little effort they could be re-engraved to improve their quality. Sometimes, the result of this re-engraving can be seen on the coins.

The coins of ancient Greece, Persia, Rome, and also coins of the time of Tigranes the Great, were made in this manner. By studying these coins in detail, it can be seen that the artisans used equipment similar to a magnifying glass when engraving the dies.

With the fall of the Roman Empire, this art was largely forgotten and lost in Western Europe. For this reason, European coins struck the Middle Ages cannot be compared to the beautiful coins of ancient times. To make their work easier, medieval moneyers made their coins flatter and thinner, such that the design and lettering have very little depth compared to ancient pieces. Since the art of gravure had also declined, die-cutters also began to use punches with straight or curved lines to prepare coinage dies. Thus, instead of engraving the design and inscription, medieval coiners hit the punches with a hammer to inscribe the king's image and letters on the dies. Many dies from medieval times have reached us, and also some documents, which illustrate the art of coinage as practiced in Europe during the Middle Ages.

During Roman times, dies were firmly immobilized with the use of tongs. The metallic blank was placed between the upper and lower dies and the opposite end of the upper die was struck under the blow of a hammer to make the coin. The orientation of the obverse and reverse faces were always fixed relative to each other. Roman coinage instruments from a first century monument can be seen in Figure 2.

In the Middle Ages, however, the metal obverse die (called the anvil die) was placed in a wooden block. The reverse die was placed in a metal trussel (see Figure 3 which illustrates the metal parts). The blanks were placed on the anvil die, the trussel was placed on the top, and the coin was then struck under a strong hammer blow.

In this arrangement, the orientation of the obverse and reverse dies relative to each other was variable, as can be seen on Roupenian coins.

We know for a fact that under the hammer blows the trussel (which was the moving die) would wear out much more quickly than the anvil die. By studying ancient coins carefully, we can see that five, ten, and sometimes even twenty trussels would wear out before the anvil die became unusable. For thinner medieval coins, at least two trussel dies would wear out for each anvil die. Dies which have been discovered confirm this fact.[1a]

After speaking about the engraving and use of dies, we must consider the material from which the coins were made and the method used to prepare the blanks.

In ancient times, metal working was an important and developed craft, because of its necessity in everyday life as well as in war. It was known that silver could be added to gold, and copper added to silver, to make acceptable alloys for coinage. These alloys had sufficient hardness to be durable, but were soft enough to take the impression of the dies when struck under the pressure of hammer.

During the Middle Ages, the metal was beaten into sheets of the required thickness. Then, special shears or scissors were used to cut out circular blanks. These blanks were of uniform weight and kept to narrow tolerances. Blanks were placed on the anvil die and the trussel set above. With strong strikes of hammer, the blank became a coin. In France, on the column of St. Georges de Bocherville in Normandy, we can see a 12th century depiction of a moneyer, which—although not drawn to correct scale—shows the blank, and the coinage method (Figure 4).

In Figure 6, we see a drawing of a medieval mint workshop taken from a 16th century manuscript illustrating the associated tasks involved in coin production. In the upper left corner is a furnace where the metal to be used was purified. The bearded man is weighing the gold or silver which has been brought to him for

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[1a] A pair of dies from Cilician Armenia has been recently discovered and published. See M. E. Karapetian and H. V. Sarkissian, "The Dies of Zabel-Hetoum Tram," ANJ, Vol. X (1984), pp. 24-28, and plate II which shows a photograph of the dies.

coinage. It is apparent that he keeps the accounts in the ledger placed on the table before him. The man in the center is beating the metal into a sheet of the desired thickness. In the lower left, the metal is being clipped with shears and made into blanks. Prepared blanks are kept in the dish. In the lower right, the coiner is making coins by striking the blanks between the dies individually with blow of a hammer, while his assistant is placing blanks on the anvil die. Finished coins are collected in a bowl in the extreme lower right, then probably counted before being placed in the strong box located on the center floor.

From medieval Europe, we have a considerable number of tools, coins, and documents which provide a clear picture not only of coinage but also of the number of coins issued each year and the names of the mint directors. The mint directors were responsible to the king for the purity of gold or silver, for the number of coins struck, and for their artistic quality.

After the fall of the Cilician Armenian kingdom, the barbarous conquerors destroyed not only the records of the royal archive but also their materials relating to the nation's life. This does not mean that it is impossible to study coin making in Cilician Armenia. Thousands of coins have reached us which speak clearly about Armenian coinage art. There are also some European documents which provide information on this subject.

The Armenians were caught between and influenced by the Byzantine and Arab civilizations, and of course learned and benefited from their high accomplishments in the field of coinage. After the arrival of the Crusaders, the Armenians also came into contact with technology in Europe. Thus it was not difficult for the Armenians to absorb and apply coinage methods.

We do no know exactly when the Armenians in Cilicia first began to strike coins. They had long since ceased to have their own coins and were accustomed to using the money of the Byzantine Empire or the Arabs. In Europe, even feudal princes sometimes struck coins, so that when the Crusaders arrived in the East, they began according to European custom to strike their own coins. Perhaps the Armenian barons followed the Crusader example. The Armenians did not regard themselves as inferior to the Crusaders, and occas-

ionally used their wealth and strength to demonstrate their importance.

Four types of copper coins have reached us antedating Prince Levon II (1187-1198). Of these, one cannot be read well enough to allow an attribution.[1] Another is fairly thick in fabric and may be a medal rather than a coin.[2] The two remaining are authentic coins bearing the name of Toros[3] which probably belong to different princes of that name. Since we have a Prince Toros who reigned between 1099-1129, it is not improbable that the Cilician princes began to strike coins during that time. The Crusaders were striking coins during the same period.[3a]

From Prince Levon II there are 10 known examples of a copper coin which have reached us,[4] but after Levon was crowned King Levon I in 1198, there began a rich royal series which lasted until the end of the kingdom in 1375.

Since the material available from the baronial period is so scarce, this article pertains mostly to the royal period which began in 1198. If we study these coins carefully, we see that they were made using the methods described above.

We do not know exactly the circumstances under which King Levon I began the royal coinage. Smith[5] proposes that the original dies for Levon's coins were prepared in Germany at the order of Henry VI, from whom Levon received the royal title. This is not ac-

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[1] Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962), p. 129, coin No. 2. All references are to the first edition of this work, hereafter abbreviated CCA.

[2] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 129, No. 3.

[3] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 129, Nos. 1 and 3.

[3a] Since the publication of this article in 1963, several additional coins struck by the princes of Cilician Armenia have come to light. These were discussed by the author in "A Rare Copper Coin of Baron Roupen II (1175-1187) of Cilician Armenia" in ANJ, Vol. XVII (1991), pp. 49-51. To date, we have coins from five of the eight princes who ruled Cilician Armenia between 1080-1198. It is not impossible that coins of the other princes may some day come to light.

[4] Bedoukian, CCA, pp. 129-130, No. 4.

[5] H. R. Smith, "A Meeting of the East and West," *Semitic and Oriental Studies,* University of California Publications of Semitic Philology, Vol. XI (1951), pp. 423-427.

ceptable for several reasons: firstly, coinage art at that time was more advanced in the East and there was no need to import dies from Europe; secondly, Levon already had a mint established during the baronial period; and third, the dies of Armenian coins are engraved as opposed to being prepared with a punch which was the practice then in Europe. It is true that the obverses of Levon's silver trams look like the uniface bracteates of Henry VI, but this similarity was intentional; the reverses of Levon's trams were completely original. Also, there are no traces of foreign craftsmanship on these coins, and contrary to Basmadjian's opinion,[6] all of the letters are Armenian, although sometimes they are not engraved perfectly and may superficially resemble Latin letters. The die-cutters may not have known how to read or write, since during those days literacy was generally limited to the clergy and upper classes while the common people were illiterate. Possibly for that reason we see several examples of upside down letters, half letters, half completed letters, and letters that have been altered. These are simply the result of deficiencies in knowledge and craftsmanship.

To prepare coinage dies, the artisan engravers of Cilicia (as elsewhere) first found the center of the die surface and then using a compass drew two concentric circles. Then, within the first circle, the king's picture was engraved. In between the two circles, the inscription was carved. The dots of the circles were added afterward, taking care not to touch the design. We can understand more clearly how this process worked by examining some coins in detail.

If we look at the artistic double tram[7] of Levon I, it can be seen that the obverse inscription LEVON TAKAVOR AMENAYN HAYOTs (ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ) is struck with a fairly new die, since the design, inscription, and dot borders are strong and only slightly worn (Figure 7). The center of the circle made by the compass is still apparent in the center of the king's garment. The depiction of the king is very realistic; each dot is carefully formed on the die and the dots are evenly spaced from each

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[6] Karapet J. Basmadjian, *Numismatique générale de l'Arménie* (Venice, 1936), p. 144 (in Armenian).

[7] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 132, No. 17.

other. Also, care is taken to be sure that the circle formed by the dots does not touch the king's image. The letters are formed carefully and artistically, and it is obvious that they are engraved. Punched letters would not have the same completeness and attractiveness, but would appear more like the letters in Figure 5, taken from a 12th century French coin, which is composed by joining punches together to form letters. It is also worth pointing out that the letter "O" (Ո) in Hayots (ՀԱՅՈՑ) is slightly narrowed because of the lack of space. If the "O" letters had been made with a punch, all would have the same dimensions, but on this coin the three obverse "O" letters each differ slightly in size and appearance.

The reverse of the double tram is much more worn, signifying that the die used to strike the coin (the trussel which is hit by the hammer) was already worn considerably. The circle of dots has in some places merged to form a line. Also, the art of the inscription differs from that on the obverse; the reverse "A" (Ա) letters are completely different in style from those appearing on the obverse. It is thus evident that different engravers were responsible for each side. It is also apparent that the blank has cracked under the pressure of hammer blows; this can be seen on the obverse between the letters "E" (Ե) and "N" (Ն). It can also be seen that the coin, having been cut by hand, is not perfectly circular, and for this reason, on the reverse beneath the feet of the lion, parts of some of the letters remain off the edge of the flan. When the coin was struck, the hand-held trussel was slightly tilted, leaving letters near the lion's head stronger and deeper in relief than those near the paws. From the coin's specific gravity we learn that the coin contains more than 92 percent silver, with the remainder being copper. In this way, from the careful examination of one coin, we can learn much about the art of coin manufacture.

Let us examine a regular tram of Levon I (Figure 8). We can see that both sides are well preserved and that both sides are struck with new dies.[8] The inscription and devices are very clear and the central point made by the compass is clearly apparent on both sides.

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[8] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 209, No. 657.

The observer might easily object that the working dies made from the mother die should have a central point in relief, corresponding to the indentation made by the point of the compass. Coins struck from the working dies should have a depression, rather than a raised point. This can be seen on a few well-made coins.

To answer this objection, we must accept that coins with this point (in relief) were either struck with the mother dies or with working dies that had been re-engraved, and in the course of re-engraving had been reworked using the compass. On the coins (although this is not very clear in the illustration) the line beneath the dots can be quite clearly seen. Obviously, the king and his crown were engraved first and then the dotted circles were added, otherwise they would touch each other. It is also apparent that, since the blank did not exactly cover the die, part of the circle is beyond the edge of the coin. The artwork of the obverse inscription is different and better than that of the reverse, once again pointing to the work of different die-cutters. The obverse inscription reads LEVN TAKAOR HAYOTs (ԼԵՒՆ ԹԱԳԱՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ), in which the "O" (Ո) of "LEVON (ԼԵՒՈՆ)" and the "V" (Ւ) of "TAKAVOR" (ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ) have been accidentally dropped. The dots of the crown, and those of the eyes, being smaller than those used for the circle borders, must have been engraved by a different method.

Let us examine a third coin (Figure 9), another regular tram of Levon I. Once again we can see a central depression made by the point of a compass. One edge of the blank was thicker and contained extra metal, so that when the coin was struck that part was pushed outward giving the coin an oval shape. On the other side the metal is thin and a crack is apparent between the letters "E" (Ե) and "V" (Ւ) of LEVON (ԼԵՒՈՆ). The engraver has rendered the word HAYOTs (ՀԱՅՈՑ) as HAYATs (ՀԱՅԱՑ). On the reverse of this coin, there is extra space between the word ASDIDz (ԱՍՏԻԾ) and the cross of the inscription band, so the engraver filled in a dot at that location.

The coins of Levon I sometimes have an unartistic or barbaric appearance. Possibly, these were struck after Levon's death (in 1219)

and prior to the accession of Hetoum I to the throne (1226), when the country was in turmoil. It seems that little attention was paid to the striking of coins during this period. If we examine a coin of this period (Figure 10), we can see that the blank was hastily made.[9] The obverse die, although considerably worn, is still in use. The king's left foot, part of the circle, and the letter "K" (Գ) are joined because of a die break. Since the reverse trussel die is much newer, the details are clearer on that side of the coin. The point made by the engraver's compass can be clearly seen.

The coppers of Levon I also emphasize that the coinage dies were engraved. We can see on the coin in Figure 11 that the die-cutter has adjusted the inscription to fit in the available space.[10] The dot on the end of the (leonine) king's nose is the center of the circle, while on the obverse the center of the circle is concealed by the cross. These coppers are quite thick, too thick to have been cut from a sheet of metal with shears like that used for the silvers. It is very likely that the blanks for the coppers were first prepared by casting and later struck with hammer. It is worth noting that the circles are formed as a single line rather than a series of closely-spaced pellets.

It is of interest to examine a few silver trams of Hetoum I. The coins of this period are generally quite attractive and reflect the country's prosperous situation. The bilingual trams of Hetoum-Kaikhusrew (Figure 12) are among the most attractive coins of the Cilician Armenian kingdom. The depiction of the king mounted on a horse is well executed and the horse has an imperious appearance. The calligraphic inscription can compare favorably with the best of Armenian manuscript art. It is apparent that the horse was engraved first, followed by the dotted circle, since the pellets of the circle do not touch the horse's hooves.

The regular silver trams of Hetoum-Zabel show the king and queen on the obverse and a lion with a cross on the reverse. The great majority of these coins are attractively made and if we look carefully we can see that these too, like the others, are made with engraved dies. In Figure 13, we see that the engraver first wrote

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[9] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 156, No. 214.
[10] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 221, No. 731.

HETOUM TAKAVOR HA (ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ), and seeing that plenty of room remained for the last three letters of the inscription, lengthened the letter "Y" (Յ) of HAYOTz (ՀԱՅՈՑ) to fill the remaining space.[10a]

The concentric circles on the copper coins of Hetoum I are generally made with lines, but there are some instances where dots are used.[11] In Figure 14, we can see that the blank is slightly smaller than the die and the coin is struck slightly off center, leaving part of the inscription off the edge of the coin. Once again we see that the style of lettering on the obverse differs from that on the reverse, signifying the work of different die engravers. It can be seen that the letter "I" (Ի) of the mint SIS (ՍԻՍ) was drawn wide in order to fill the available space. Between the letters "H" (Հ) and "A" (Ա) of HAYOTz (ՀԱՅՈՑ) on the obverse, the die has cracked under the pressure of the hammer.

Just as for the coppers of Levon, the large coppers of Hetoum were hot struck. Otherwise, the dies would not have lasted very long. Sometimes, the coin would stick to the dies and struck twice. In Figure 15, we see that each side of the coin has been struck by a reverse as well as an obverse die. The letters HETOUM T (ՀԵԹՈՒՄ Թ) and H I SIS (Հ Ի ՍԻՍ) can be read on each side.

Some of the smaller coppers of Hetoum are very interesting as well. There is considerable difference in the style of the lettering on the two sides of the coin[12] in Figure 16, proving that different artisans were involved in the engraving. On a small copper coin of Hetoum (Figure 17), a large die crack can be seen in the center of the coin.

Sometimes, engravers wrote the same inscription on both obverse and reverse dies by mistake,[13] and sometimes the devices would be drawn backwards. This can be seen on the trams of Levon I, where

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[10a] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 235, No. 842.
[11] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 277, No. 1296.
[12] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 286, No. 1396.
[13] Bedoukian, CCA, Nos. 1422, 1423, 1649-1653, 2026, 2161-2163.

the lion is turned right instead of left. There are also upside down inscriptions,[14] incorrect letters, etc. These are all exceptions to the usual pattern.

Levon I and Hetoum I struck silver half trams, just like regular trams but of only half the weight. This practice was continued by Levon II, but since the small dies needed for these coins were difficult to prepare, Levon II soon began to use regular tram dies with half-weight blanks. In Figure 18, we see a Levon II half tram the obverse of which is struck with a half tram die and the reverse with a full tram die.[15] An interesting copper of Levon II, which is obviously double struck, is shown in Figure 19.

After Levon II, Cilician Armenia began to weaken under enemy attacks. To appease the enemy, large quantities of silver coin were struck which would be paid as tribute. Under these difficult circumstances, the art of coinage declined, and since the dies were used for extended periods of time, many of the coins lack aesthetic appeal.

The method of coining, however, remained unchanged. On the very attractive coronation trams of Oshin[16] illustrated in Figure 20, we see the same artistic quality that was evident on the trams of Levon I. Similar effort is apparent on a rare takvorin of Levon the Usurper[17] shown in Figure 21, which is inscribed LEVON TAKAVOR HAY (ԼԵՎՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅ) on both sides. At the close of the kingdom, the number of coins struck decreased but the method of manufacture remained unchanged.

A few words are in order about the metals that were used. The Roupenians struck only a few gold coins, probably as gifts to notables rather than for commercial circulation. They struck millions of silver coins and it is important to know where they obtained their supply of silver bullion. According to *Sissouan* by Ghewond Alishan,[18] the Armenians of Cilicia had rich iron and lead mines. The lead mines were very poor in silver and gold. Probably, the silver was obtained by importation either from Asia Minor or the Mediter-

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[14] Bedoukian, CCA, Nos. 76, 321-321a, 673-680a.

[15] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 304, No. 1523.

[16] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 353, No. 1839a.

[17] Bedoukian, CCA, p. 398, No. 2161.

[18] Father Ghewond Alishan, *Sissouan* (Venice, 1885), pp. 9-10 (in Armenian).

ranean countries. We know that several kings of Cilician Armenia extended special privileges to the Venetians when they brought silver and gold into the country for minting coins.[19] As a commercial center, Cilicia reaped a large income from import-export duties in the form of silver coin, which was an important source of wealth. Copper was probably imported as well since Cilicia did not have its own copper mines.

Cilician coins were thus struck from engraved dies and, as in other countries, the mother die was probably made first and later the working dies were made in soft metal. The metal of the working dies was hardened by tempering and then used to strike coins. If, in the future, a large hoard is discovered, it may prove possible to demonstrate the use of some working dies.[20]

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[19] Victor Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie ou Cartulaire de la Chancellerie royale des Roupéniens* (Venice, 1863), pp. 10, 144, 152, 167. Also see Bedoukian, CCA, pp. 27-28.

[20] For further reading, see *Encyclopedia Britannica,* "Numismatics," and Philip Grierson, "Note on Stamping of Coins and other Objects" in *A History of Technology,* Vol. II, Oxford, pp. 485-492.

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THE 'PITTSBURGH PAPERS'-1
NUMISMATIC ART OF ARMENIA

(Plate 29)

Armenia is a land of mountains and valleys and is situated at the crossroads of three continents.* Destined to stand in the path of continental migrations of nations, it was constantly forced to fight for survival.

But mountainous lands of necessity produce people who are courageous, tough, and resilient. It seems to me that the central theme for the Armenian room should be Armenia's unending struggle to maintain its identity. To survive, we created our own art, our own alphabet, our own language, and were the first to adopt Christianity as a national religion.

Rocks and minerals abound in Armenia. The rocks made possible an original style of architecture. Metals led to the development of metal art which has many distinctive features. The Armenian room—walls, ceiling, beams, and so on, should reflect its stone and metal art.

In the matter of Armenian numismatics, we shall endeavor to point out certain features of Armenian coins which constitute original contributions to numismatic art.

Throughout its long history, Armenia has had only brief periods of independence, even though its cultural development has never ceased. These brief periods of independence are reflected in its coinage.

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* Paul Bedoukian, professionally a chemical engineer, is recognized as one of the world's leading authorities on the coinage of Cilician Armenia and the other metal antiquities of the Armenian nation. He is the author of the now unhappily out-of-print work, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962).

There were two main issues of coins—the first during the period of the Artaxiads, before the coming of Christ, and the second, during the Middle Ages under the Roupenian dynasty.

Let us first Review the Coinage of the Artaxiads.

When the Seleucid kingdom was humbled by the Romans in the battle of Magnesia in 189 B.C., Armenia, a subject of the Seleucids, took advantage of the situation and declared its total freedom. The ruler at the time was Artaxias. We do not have coins from him or from his successor, Artavasdes I. However, Tigranes I, who ruled from 123-96 B.C. struck coins with some interesting designs.

It was his son, Tigranes the Great, who organized the mints and began a coinage which is very distinctive and unique in its styling. This coinage was continued by his successors until the end of the dynasty, shortly after the coming of Christ.

As an example, we can take one of the tatradrachms of Tigranes the Great (Figure 1):

We see the bust of Tigranes turned right, wearing the Armenian tiara. A diadem knotted at the back encircles the head and falls downwards. Divided drapes cover the ear and neck. The tiara is adorned with an eight-pointed star, flanked by two eagles back to back and with heads turned toward each other. In most cases, the tiara is low and the five peaks are made of one or more beads. The coin has a fillet border. On the reverse is Tyche of Antioch (or Artaxata) draped and wearing a turreted crown, seated on a rock, holding a palm-branch in the right hand. At her feet is seen the upper portion of a youthful nude male figure of the river god Orontes (or Araxes) swimming right. All within laurel wreath. The legend, to right downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and to left ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Various monograms in the field.

The design is distinctive and no other nation has ever struck coins with this type of tiara. The Tigranes coin represents an original contribution to numismatic art and deserves to be depicted in the Armenian classroom.

Armenian Coinage in the Middle Ages.

When Levon I was crowned king of Cilician Armenia, he issued a series of coins bearing Armenian letters. The design of his coins is also noteworthy. In order to be crowned king during the Middle Ages, and to be recognized, one had to receive the crown either from the Pope of from an emperor. Levon received his crown from the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Henry VI, and was crowned king on January 6, 1199. The Armenian Catholicos Gregory Abirad placed the crown on Levon's head while the papal legate, Conrad of Mittelsbach, gave him the royal scepter. Levon thus became king, recognized as such by his neighbors, and at the same time was nominally a vassal of the German emperor.

When we look at the obverse of his coins, we see the king seated on a throne ornamented with lion heads. He wears a royal crown and a royal mantle on his shoulders (Figures 2 and 3). He has a cross in his right hand and a fleur-de-lys in his left. On most coins the king's feet rest on a footstool. The bracteates of Henry VI bear a striking resemblance in styling to Levon's coins. It thus appears that Levon, in gratitude to the German emperor, adopted this type on the obverse of his coins. I might mention that this design was in general use in Europe during this period, both on coins and on seals.

The originality of the design appears on the reverse of the coins of Levon and that of many of his successors. A cross is seen between two lions rampant regardant (Figure 3). This particular feature represents another original contribution to numismatic art. Aside from the two lion design, Levon issued coins with a single lion holding a cross (Figure 2). While that design may suggest the Agnus Dei type, it is only on Armenian coins that we see this distinctive type. In fact, this was often called the "Armenian Lion" in numismatic literature.

I would therefore again suggest that the Armenian Room could happily contain representations of the coinage of two of its most famous kings, Tigranes the Great and Levon the Magnificent.[1]

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[1] Originally published in *Armenian Review*, Vol. 33 (December 1, 1980), No. 4 (132), pp. 343-345.

THE 'PITTSBURGH PAPERS'-1
METAL ART IN ARMENIA

(Plates 26-29, 39, 52)

As mentioned earlier, Armenia is a mountainous country, rich in minerals, and has therefore had from the earliest times the means of developing its metal art.

Thanks to the archaeological work in Van (historic Armenia) at the beginning of this century and more recently in Soviet Armenia, we have learned something about the metal art of the kingdom of Urartu which existed as the first Armenian nation state in the millennium before Christ. It was a powerful kingdom stretching from present Armenia to Mesopotamia. The Urartuans were a warrior nation, and were well versed in all forms of metallurgy. Excavations have unearthed military equipment, such as helmets, shields, and swords, as well as jewelry made of gold and silver.

Looking at these illustrations, wee see that Urartuan metal art had many distinctive features and differed from the metal art of neighboring countries.

With the establishment of the Armenian Empire during the reign of Tigranes the Great, Hellenism made deep inroads into Armenia. Unfortunately, we know virtually nothing about the metal art of that period. Most of historic Armenia is now occupied by Turkey, and no serious archaeological excavations are being carried out there. The same remarks hold true for the period of the Arsacids and Bagratids who ruled during the first millennium after Christ. Hopefully, some day artifacts will be discovered from the second millennium of Armenian history.

The Middle Ages and thereafter are much more encouraging to the student of metal art. We have the abundant coinage of the

Roupenians, as well as considerable activity in the development of manuscript art. Many manuscripts were bound with exquisite silver and gold covers, often adorned with precious stones. A number of such metal book covers have survived. As expected, they are religious in character and in many ways are similar to illuminations found in the manuscripts.

Although Armenia came under Ottoman rule in the sixteenth century, with many restrictions on its freedom, it remained dominant in such areas as metalworking, jewelry, textiles, and china. Many of the leading architects were also Armenian.

The many races living in the Ottoman Empire undoubtedly influenced each other in their art. Nevertheless, Armenian metal art can readily be distinguished from Persian, Arabic or Turkish works. (Group Fig. 2)

Take a beautiful brass bowl dated 1626 (Group Fig. 4). It has the typical Armenian floral and leaf design. This three leaf plant is often repeated in Armenian works. The styling is ornate, pleasing to the eye, and different from Mohammedan pieces.

There is a very fine large tray made for the Catholicos of Sis in 1735 (Plate 52). It is a magnificent work of art, has beautiful workmanship and shows clearly the close relationship between metal art and illuminated manuscripts (Plate 39). Looking at the photographs of the disciples, one may mistake them for manuscript photographs. The styling is truly Armenian.

Religious objects made by Armenian jewelers and donated to churches were of the highest artistic quality. Unfortunately many of these, made of silver and gold, were destroyed by the enemy or melted down for their precious metal content. However, surviving seventeenth and eighteenth century religious artifacts as shown in the publication of the Jerusalem Armenian monastery are proof of the advanced state of the jeweler's art in Armenia.

Beginning with the late 17th and early 18th century, there was considerable communication between the Armenians and Europeans. As a result, some surviving metalworks show a degree of European influence. Some book covers and other artifacts were actually imported from Europe and Armenian inscriptions then

placed on them. The imported covers can be distinguished from the work of Armenian artists.

In conclusion, I would like to say how I see the Armenian Classroom.

Its physical frame, that is, the walls, chandeliers, etc.—a blend of stone and metal, so that when one walks into the room the total impression is unmistakably Armenian.

Murals can reflect the three millenniums of our history:

The Urartu and Artaxiad dynasty.

The adoption of Christianity, the invention of the alphabet, the battle of Avarair, Armenian epics reflecting the struggle for freedom.

The third millennium showing a period of decline as a result of the invasion of Mongol and Turkish tribes from Central Asia, the periods of independence, the flourishing of metal and *manuscript* art, and the beginning of a new era with the establishment of an Armenian republic.[1]

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[1] Originally published in *Armenian Review*, Vol. 33 (December 1, 1980), No. 4 (132), pp. 345-350.

ARMENIAN RINGSTONES

(Plates 30-32)

The use of rings by mankind dates back many millennia, witness the numerous surviving specimens from ancient Egypt, Greece,[1] Rome, and Byzantium housed in most major museums. These collections have been the subject of numerous publications.[2]

Armenian rings and ringstones, however, have seldom been studied, although their existence since ancient times has been documented.[3] Rings from the second millennium B.C. have been discovered in Armenia, with dragon and snake-head motifs. Similar objects from the Urartuan period have also been found. It is interesting that these rings were made of various metals, including gold, silver, bronze, and iron.[4]

In general, the stones were a variety of quartz, even though jewelers did use a wide range of other stones. For example, amethyst was used in the earliest times for beads, amulets, and seals, yet in Hellenistic and Roman times was almost never used as a ringstone. Another type of quartz, translucent chacedony, white to blue in color, appears in amulets from Mesopotamia and Anatolia.[5] Perhaps the most commonly used stone for seals and rings was cornelian (often spelled carnelian), a flesh-red translucent stone. The reddish color is attributed to the presence of iron oxide in the quartz. Certain varieties range from a yellowish cast to brown. A rare and

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[1] G. M. A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and Etruscans* (Phaidon, 1962).

[2] J. Ogden, *Jewelry in the Ancient World* (Pozzoli, 1982).

[3] S. Davt'ian, *Episodes from the History of Applied Arts in Medieval Armenia* (Erevan, 1981), pp. 132-150 (in Armenian).

[4] *Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia*, Vol. 7 (Erevan, 1981), p. 281 (in Armenian); K. Ghafadarian, *The City of Dvin and Its Excavations* (Erevan, 1982) (in Armenian).

[5] Richter, pp. 8-12.

valued type called "sard" is brown under reflected light and deep red under transmitted light.

The popularity of cornelian since ancient times stems from its attractive red color, its hardness, and the fact that it has the property of retaining its polish to a greater extent than many harder stones. Also, unlike some other stones, it does not adhere to sealing waxes, and leaves a clear impression. Another reason is undoubtedly its wide occurrence in nature. In all probability, cornelian used in the Mediterranean world came from Ceylon or the Ural Mountains in Russia.[6]

While cornelian lends itself to rings made of gold, silver, copper, alloys, etc., it is surprising that many of the stones in the Mekhitarist Museums at Venice and Vienna and in the writer's possession are without settings. It may be that in many instances the metal eventually became worn or distorted and was discarded, but the stone was kept as a momento of departed relatives or friends. Of the twenty-three specimens in the writer's collection, only five have ring settings.

With the exception of the Tigranes the Great ring, all the specimens date from the eighteenth or nineteenth century. An examination of stones in various museums will no doubt bring to light many others belonging to an earlier period.

The ringstones were seals, corresponding to a signature today. In early times, the seal identified a person even to those who could not read or write. In modern usage, it insures that goods or letters sent by messenger to some distant person have not been tampered with. In addition, valuable possessions are often kept under seal to make certain that they are not disturbed.[7]

The methods used in preparing engraved seals have changed little since antiquity. Different sizes and shapes of drills made of metal were rotated by means of a wheel operated by foot. Today the rotation is accomplished by an electric motor. The cutting is done not by the drill which is usually made of a relatively soft metal but by powder which is rubbed into the stone by the rotating drill. The

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[6] Ogden, pp. 105-108; W. Schumann, *Gemstones of the World* (1977), p. 126.

[7] Richter, p. 1.

powder consists of diamond dust which is of the highest hardness of ten, whereas cornelian has a hardness of seven.[8]

One can visualize the gemstone being fastened to a handle, held to the drill, and moved in the direction of the design. Most likely, a fine line drawing or sketch was made on the surface of the gemstone and the design developed with a drill. The diamond powder usually mixed with a thickening oil was the medium with which depressions were made in the gemstone. The drill head varied in size and shape. A ball-like head produced a rounded depression, a sharp edge made a triangular cut, while small pin-head size drills produced fine lines. When the inscription or design was completed, a fine diamond powder was used to polish the surface and erase the original fine line sketch. If needed, the engraving was polished with a softer clay such as tripoli powder and water.

Some ancient engravings are of microscopic design and contain such miniscule details that it has been suggested that a sort of magnifying glass had to be employed during the engraving process. Possibly, glass beads were used for magnification, but in the end, the patience and eyesight of the engraver were largely responsible for the quality of the product.

A description of ringstones from the author's collection follows:

1. It is the opinion of museum curators that this ring is several centuries old, although the styling cannot be traced to any school in Antioch or other centers. The design is obviously copied from the coinage of Tigranes the Great. A fine drill has been used in making the engravings—the head of Tigranes and his tiara have been represented with a certain degree of fidelity, although the workmanship does not equal the artistry of the early Greek and Roman specimens. The ringstone shows considerable wear, as evidenced by microscopic scratches on the surface of the cornelian. The setting is of silver and the surface is embellished with silver globules, a technique well known to jewelers and common in the Near East several centuries ago.

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[8] *ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

This is the second Tigranes the Great ring known to the writer. The Mekhitarist Monastery in Venice at one time had possession of a broken Tigranes gemstone, which it later returned to the owner. It is unfortunate that no photographs of the broken pieces were taken for comparison purposes, and the whereabouts are now unknown.
Provenance, Syria; weight, 14.15 grams.

2. A very fine example of a Vardapet's gold ring, showing in some detail the staff with serpentine heads on each side of the cross. On the right of the staff is a highly ligatured letter representing the name "P'ilopos" (ՓԻԼԻՊՈՍ) and to the left of the staff another ligatured single letter representing the word Vardapet (ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏ).[9] A the bottom of the staff on the right are two letters "RCh" (ՌԾ) and on the left two other letters "LE" (ԼԷ) signifying the Armenian date 1137. This date corresponds to the calendar year 1688 (1137 + 551). The ring is thus 300 years old. Various crosses and floral designs fill the void spaces in the design.
Provenance, unknown; weight, 8.75 grams.

3. A very finely engraved (gilded?) ring, with a three-line inscription reading "Servant of Christ/Mēlik'/jan" (ՔԻԾՌԻ/ՄԷԼԻՔ/ՋԱՆ). Both the lettering and the various crosses filling the void spaces are executed artistically and with much care. On the lower left hand corner is a date in Arabic numerals. If read correctly from left to right, it is 1421 (١٤٢١). Since this date is an impossibility, it must be assumed that one must read it from right to left which gives us the Islamic date 1241, corresponding to the Christian date of 1825. The setting shows some alterations, indicating that it may have been the work of more than one artisan.
Provenance, Iran; weight, 8.15 grams.

4. Gilded silver ring, with an orange-colored cornelian bearing a three-line inscription which reads "Servant of Christ/Grigor/

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[9] A. G. Abrahamian, *History of Armenian Script and Writing* (Erevan, 1959), pp. 301-311 (in Armenian); *Armenian Cryptography* (Erevan, 1978), p. 188 (in Armenian).

1784" (ՔԻԾՌՒ/ԳՐԻԳՈՐ /17-84). The workmanship is average, and the ring shows some wear.
Provenance, Iran; weight, 7.00 grams.

5. Although the gemstone of this ring shows considerable artistry in its workmanship, the setting is very inexpensive. It is quite likely that the cornelian was originally set in silver or gold, and that the present setting is of a later period. There is no date to indicate its age, the legend reading merely "Servant of Christ/P'ilipos" (ՔԻԾՌՒ/ ՓԻԼԻՊՈՍ).
Provenance, Syria; weight, 3.90 grams.

6. The setting is in the form of a seal, rather than a ring, and has a hole to enable the owner to wear it on a chain. The gemstone itself, possibly a steatite, is whitish and clay-like in appearance. The finely styled three-line inscription reads "Servant of Christ/Hayra/pid" (ՔԻԾՌՒ/ՀԱՅՐԱ/ՊԻՏ).
Provenance, Syria; weight, 3.90 grams.

7. A relatively large and thick octagonal, dark orange stone. It has a fine but simple inscription and decoration. The legend reads "Servant of Christ/Grigor" (ՔԻԾՌՒ/ԳՐԻԳՈՐ).
Provenance, Iran; weight, 3.25 grams.

8. A large oval, dark red stone with a simple but well-incised inscription in two lines: "Servant of Christ/Ovnēs (John)" (ՔԻԾՌՒ/ ՈՎՆԷՍ). Curiously, the reverse has Islamic writing showing the date 1655 in Arabic numerals, obviously indicating an Arabic speaking Christian owner.
Provenance, Iran; weight, 3.80 grams.

9. An average size reddish stone with a three-line inscription. The letters are well formed, but not ornate. The writing: "Servant of Christ/Sam(u)ē/l" (ՔԻԾՌՒ/ՍԱՄԷ/Լ).
Provenance, Beirut; weight, 2.35 grams.

10. A highly ornate oval stone, excellent workmanship, artistic lettering. Its color is dark red, and all the crosses, decorations and floral designs are beautifully executed. The two-line inscription reads "Servant of Christ/Poghos (Paul)," (ՔԻԾՌ/ՊՈՂՈՍ) and the third or bottom space is decorated with five-petal rose designs.
Provenance, Syria; weight, 1.40 grams.

11. An oval stone, light orange in color, with a relatively simple inscription in three lines. The legend reads "Servant of Christ/ Yohan/ēs (John)." (ՔԻԾՌ/ՅՈՀԱՆ/ԷՍ). The stone has a small chip on the upper left hand corner. The workmanship is average.
Provenance, unknown; weight, 1.95 grams.

12. An unusual stone, a pure transparent glass-like quartz. It is relatively thick for its size and the workmanship is average. The two-line inscription reads "Servant of Christ/Sahak" (ՔԻԾՌ/ ՍԱՀԱԿ). No date.
Provenance, Syria; weight, 1.35 grams.

13. A dark orange stone, inscribed very artistically, excellent workmanship. Both the lettering and the markings or crosses filling the interspaces are nicely done, in an unhurried manner. The legend reads "Servant of Christ/ANANEAY/1189" (ՔԻԾՌ/ԱՆԵԱՅ/ ՌՃՁԹ). The Armenian date corresponds to A.D. 1740. The first letter is ligatured AN (ԱՆ). Obviously the inscribed word reads ANANEAY, indicating that the ligatured is repeated (see Fig. 13 where the word ANANEA (ԱՆԱՆԵԱՅ) is spelled in full). The stone has a small chip at its upper right hand corner.
Provenance, Iran; weight, 1.50 grams.

14. Another finely incised stone of dark orange color. It has a dark coloration and a small chip on the right hand corner. The three-line inscription reads "Servant of Christ/Eliazar (ԵՂԻԱԶԱՐ)/ 1223" (ՔԻԾՌ/ԴԱՋԱՄ/ՌՄԻԳ). The second line consists of three letters, with the first and third ligatured. The first seems to represent the letters Դ and Ա, and the third, Ա and Մ. A name fitting into

these characters has not as yet been found. The Armenian date 1223 corresponds to 1774.
Provenance, unknown; weight, 2.45 grams.

15. A small, relatively thick, dark orange stone. The three-line inscription, “Servant of Christ/Ēlbir/it‘” (ՔԻՍՌԻ/ԷԼԲԻՐԻԹ) is puzzling. The name is not Armenian, but the stone may have belonged to an Armenian who had adopted a foreign name. To the left and right of the third line is a crudely incised Islamic date, 12 18 (١٢-١٨) which corresponds to the Christian year 1804.
Provenance, Beirut; weight 0.80 gram.

16. A small, thin, dark orange stone, average workmanship. Because of the size of the stone, the four letters for “Servant of Christ (ՔԻՍՌԻ) are abbreviated to two letters (ՔՍ)—the initial letter of each word. The second line gives the name of the owner, ANANEA (ՔՍ/ԱՆԱՆԵԱ/ ١٢٣٤) and the third line, the Arabic date, 1234 A.H. or 1818 A.D.
Provenance, Syria; weight, 0.65 gram.

17. A smaller than average stone, rather thin, orange in color, inscribed in Armenian and dated in Arabic. Although the stone is octagonal, the corners have been so rounded that it looks almost oval. The engraver was apparently illiterate since he carved the second letter upside down. Workmanship is poor. The date in Arabic is A.H. 1247, which corresponds to the Christian year 1831. The legend reads “Servant of Christ/Mortiros/1247” (ՔՍ/ՄՈՐՏԻՐՈՍ/ ١٢٤٧).
Provenance, Syria; weigh, 0.70 gram.

18. A dark orange stone, average workmanship. It is interesting to note that the date is in Arabic numerals but the numbers represent the Christian date 1718. The three-line inscription reads “Mahtesi/Sargis/1718) (ՄԱՀՏԵՍԻ/ՍԱՐԳԻՍ/ ١٧١٨). The title Mahtesi was given to persons who had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.
Provenance, unknown; weight, 1.96 grams.

19. An average size ringstone, orange in color, but with some dark veins which detract from its clarity and appearance. The workmanship of the inscription is relatively poor. Although the writing is clear. The three-line legend reads "Mik'a/ēli Ordi K/arapēt" (ՄԻՔԱ/ԷԼԻՈՐԴԿ/ԱՐԱՊԷՏ) with two ligatured letters. No date.
Provenance, Beirut; weight, 1.55 grams.

20. An unusual stone, made up of a single ligatured letter. It bears no date or other inscription. The stone has a dark red hue and the workmanship is of the highest quality. The decorations and letter are made with utmost care. The ligatured letter can be read either as Grigor or (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) or Gēorg (ԳԷՈՐԳ).
Provenance, Iran; weight, 0.96 gram.

21. Dark Orange stone of considerable artistic merit, highly decorative. Excellent workmanship. It is very likely that some of the very fine designs were done with the help of magnification. The upper half bears an Arabic legend reading "Mik'ael" (ՄԻՔԱԵԼ) and the lower half an Armenian legend giving the same name. There is a chip on the back of the stone at the end of the letters.
Provenance, Iran; weight, 1.50 grams.

22. Perhaps the most artistic and finest gemstone in the entire collection. It is dark red in color, shows beautiful workmanship. The Armenian ligatured letters are concave. This is most unusual. The upper portion bears the date 1745. Below it in Georgian, "Sṭepan" (სტეფან). Underneath, covering more than half the surface of the stone, is the ligatured monogram which can be read as "Sṭepan." The back of the stone in the lower part is chipped away.

Although the provenance of the stone is Iran, there seems to be no doubt that it is of Caucasian origin, probably made in Tiflis.
Provenance, Iran; weight, 1.75 grams.

23. A most unusual stone in that it contains inscriptions in three languages: Arabic, Armenian, and Georgian. The top line reads, "Khach'atur" and on the left corner, the Arabic date 1170, equiva-

lent to A.D. 1721. The middle line is in Armenian, abbreviated with the second and sixth letter missing "Khch'atwr" (ԽՉԱՏՒՐ). The bottom line, in Georgian, again reads Khach'atur (ხაჩატურ). The workmanship is excellent, obviously done by an experienced engraver.

Oddly enough, the reverse side is also engraved with an all-Armenian inscription. There is a Vardapet's staff down the middle of the stone, and the three-line inscription reads "Servant of Christ/Andrēas/Vardapet" (ՔԻԾՌԻ/ԱՆԴՐԷԱՍ/ՎՐԴՊՏ).
Provenance, Beirut; weight, 1.45 grams.

Of the twenty-three engraved gemstones, one, that of Tigranes the Great, is devoid of any inscription, nineteen are inscribed in Armenian only, one is bilingual (Armenian and Arabic), and two are trilingual (Armenian, Georgian, and Arabic).[10]

Although the gemstones described here are few in number and most belong to a limited time slot, the writer feels that they are representative of the art of engraving gemstones in Armenia during the 18th and 19th centuries and give us a glimpse of the religious, mercantile, and personal seals used during that period.

The collections of Armenian ringstones in the Mekhitarist Museums of Venice and Vienna will provide the student with much needed material for research.

A study of ringstones and rings made of various metals should shed light not only on the evolution of the forms of ligatured letters but also on the form and styling of letters used in the past several centuries.[11]

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[10] The writer acknowledges with thanks the help of Richard L. Villar who undertook with patience and skill the difficult task of photographing the ringstones.

[11] Originally published in *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, New Series, Vol. XX (1986-1987), pp. 481-492.

ԵՐԿՈՒ ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ԴՐԱՄՆԵՐ

(*Տախտակ* 33)

Հայկական դրամահատութիւնը վերջացաւ Կիլիկիոյ պետութեան անկումով 1375*ին*[1]*։ Կան անորոշ գրութեամբ սակաւաթիւ դրամներ որ կը նմանին Կիլիկիոյ վերջին թագաւորներու դրամներուն, որոնք թերեւս կոխուած են Սսոյ փողերանոցին մէջ* 1375*էն յետոյ, ժամանակաւորապէս գոհացնելու համար տեղային դրամական պահանջքը*[2]*։ Այս խնդիրը փաստօրէն հաստատուած չէ, և կրնայ ըլլալ որ այս դրամները ժամանակակից կեղծ կտորներ են։*

Ցաւալի է որ հինգ դար անցնելէ յետոյ, երբ հայերը իրենց անկախութիւնը յայտարարեցին Կովկասի մէջ, այդ կարճ ժամանակամիջոցին առիթ չունեցան հատանելու դրամներ և գոհացան տպելով թղթադրամներ։ Պոլշեւիկեան իշխանութեան հաստատումով, բոլոր մետաղեայ դրամները կրեցին ռուսերէն լեզուն, ամբողջ Սովետական Միութեան մէջ։

Հայ ժողովուրդը ստիպուած դարերով գաղթեց իր պատմական հողերէն և հաստատեց գաղութներ Հնդկաստանի, Ռուսիոյ և Եւրոպայի մէջ։ Շատ անգամ, հետեւելով տեղական սովորութիւններու, անոնք հատանեցին գեղեցիկ մետալիոններ։ Այս մետալիոններէն նմոյշներ, ոսկի կամ արծաթ, հասած են մեզի[3]*։*

Զարմանալիօրէն, գիտենք գոնէ երկու տեսակ հայ դրամներ որ վերջին ժամանակներս կոխուած և շրջաբերութեան դրուած են։ Որքան որ գիտենք, անոնց մասին գրութիւն մը լոյս չէ տեսած պարբերաթերթերու մէջ, թէև անոնցմէ մին յիշատակուած է Հ. Գ. Վ.

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[1] *Զարեհ Պ. Պտուկեան, Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի դրամները* (*Վիեննա*, 1963)։

[2] *Նոյն տեղը, տախտակ* XLVIII, *թիւ* 2246-2248։

[3] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "Armenian Gold Medals," ANJ, Vol. IX (June 1983), No. 2, pp. 14-25, pls. II-III.

Գալէմքեարեանի կողմէ Սիպիլեանի Դասաւորութիւն ռուբէնեան դրամոց գիրքին մէջ, տպուած 1892ին[4]։

Եկեղեցական դրամներ (?)

Սիպիլեանի գիրքին յառաջաբանին մէջ Հ. Գալէմքեարեան կը նշէ թէ Հերմիթաժի Թանգարանէն Փրոֆ. Մարկով Վիեննա ղրկած է չորս փոքր դրամներու գաճերը։ Անոնք կը ներկայացնէին այս միակողմանի դրամներու երեք տարբերակները, երկուքը ունենալով «Հ» գիրը կեդրոնը, և երրորդը խաչ մը։ Հ. Գալէմքեարեան կ'աւելցնէ «այս դրամներն, որչափ տառերու ձևէն կարելի է գուշակել, շատ վերջին ժամանակներու ծնունդ են, և կ'երևայ թէ Ռուսիոյ Հայ գաղթականութեան պատմութեան մէջ կարելի պիտի ըլլայ անոնց ծագումը գտնել»։

Այս դրամներուն ալիւմինիում թուղթի նմանահանութիւնները հեղինակին ղրկուեցան Հերմիթաժի Prof. Bykovի կողմէ։ (Տե՛ս թիւ 1 և 2 և մեծցուած գծագրութիւնները)[5]։

Երեք տարբերակները ունին հետևեալ գրութիւնները՝

1.- Բոլորաձև գրութիւնը |ԵԿԵՂԵԱՑ ԱՑ
կեդրոնը կը տեսնուի «Հ» գիրը որ զետեղուած է «Ղ» գիրին տակ։

2.- Բոլորաձև գրութիւնը կը տարբերի ըլլալով ԵԿԵՂՑԵՑ
կեդրոնի «Հ» գիրը որ զետեղուած է առաջին «Ե»-ին տակ։

3.- Բոլորաձև գրութիւնը նորէն կը տարբերի, ըլլալով |ԵԿԵՂԵՑԵԱՑ
կեդրոնը կը տեսնուի հաւասարաթև խաչ մը։

Գրութիւնը յստակօրէն կը հաստատէ թէ այս փոքր միակողմանի դրամները կոխուած են եկեղեցական հեղինակութեան մը կողմէ, դժբախտաբար ներկայիս յայտնի չէ թէ ե՞րբ, ու՞ր և կամ ի՞նչ պարագաներու տակ կոխուած են այս կտորները։

Նոյնպէս, այս դրամներուն ի՞նչ նիւթէ ըլլալը ստուգուած չէ ներկայիս։

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4 Հ. Կղեմէս Սիպիլեան, Դասաւորութիւն ռուբէնեան դրամոց (Վիեննա, 1892), էջ XI։

5 Ծանօթութիւն խմբագրութեան կողմէ.- Նախնական տպագրութեան մէջ, Հանդէս Ամսօրեայ, էջ 220, նկարները թիւ չունին։ Մեր կարծիքով կեդրոնը «Հ» ունեցող դրչանկարը, զետեղուած առանձին «Ե» տառին ներքև, պէտք է ունենայ թիւ 2, իսկ հաւասարաթև խաչովը՝ թիւ 3։

Գիտենք որ Օսմանեան Կայսրութեան մէջ, 19րդ դարու վերջերը, մետաղեայ դրամներու պակասութեան պատճառաւ, պետութիւնը թոյլատրեց որ փոքրամասնութիւններ, մանաւանդ հայերն ու յոյները, տպեն խաւաքարտէ կամ թուղթէ դրամադրոշմներ, նամակադրոշմներու մեծութեամբ։ Ասոնք չուկային մէջ կ՚ընդունուէին մետաղեայ դրամի փոխարէն։ Վերջերս այս դրամադրոշմներու կարեւոր հաւաքածոյ մը մէջտեղ ելաւ և արժանացաւ ուսումնասիրութեան և տպագրութեան[6]։

Ոսկի և արծաթ դրամներ

Վենետիկի Մխիթարեան վանքը ունի մէկ ոսկի և քանի մը արծաթ փոքր դրամներ։ Բոլորն ալ նոյնատիպ։

Այս դրամներուն Ա-կողմին վրայ կը տեսնուի կչիռք մը, ունենալով «գ» և «տ» գիրերը կոթին ձախ և աջ կողմը։ Կան նաև երկու գիրեր՝ «պմ» զետեղուած կչիռքին երկու սաներուն միջև։ Գիրերը գլխագիր չեն և չատ հաւանական է որ կը ներկայացնեն անձի մը անունը։ Դրամին չուրջանակը զարդարուած է տերևալից դափնիով մը։

Դրամին Բ-կողմին վրայ կը տեսնուի զանազան ծաղիկներու փունջ մը, իրենց յատուկ տերևներով։ Փունջին ձախ կողմը կայ իսլամական ١٢ թիւերը, իսկ աջ կողմը ٣٢, այսինքն 1232 թուականը որ կը համապատասխանէ քրիստոնէական 1815 թուականին։

Հեղինակին արծաթէ դրամը կը կչռէ մէկ կրամ, կարելի է հաչուել թէ նոյն դրամին ոսկին կը կչռէ երկու կրամ։

Վենետիկի ունեցած բոլոր դրամներն ալ չատ մաքուր վիճակի մէջ են։ Թերևս ասոնք վանք մտան երբ նոր հատանուած էին։ Ցայտնի չէ թէ ինչ պարագաներու տակ, ուր և որու անունով զարնուած են այս դրամները։

Ա-կողմը և Բ-կողմը նոյն ուղղութեամբ ↑↑ զարնուած են։ Դրամները միչտ զարնուած են հակառակ ↑↓ ուղղութեամբ, այնպէս որ այս կտորը կարելի է նկատել իբր մետալ մը, թէև չատ փոքր է մետալի մը համար։

Հաւկնալի է, որ այս յօդուածին մէջ բոլոր հարցումներուն չենք կրցած պատասխանել։ Սակայն հետաքրքրական է ներկայացնել այս

[6] K. M. MacKenzie, “Armenian Church Tokens,” ANJ, Vol. IV (1978), pp. 147-160, pls. XV-XVIII.

քանի մը կտորները, որոնք կը կազմեն օղակներ, հինգ հարիւր տարուայ հայ դրամագիտութեան ամայի շղթային մէջ[7]։

TWO ARMENIAN COINS

[Summary]

Two very small Armenian coins are described. The first is a one sided coin thought to have been used as a church token. The legend is "of church" and the letter "Հ" (H) or a cross is in the middle in a circle. The second coin has a scale on the obverse and the Armenian letters "գ" (g), "տ" (t), and "պմ" (pm). On the reverse is a bouquet of flowers and Islamic numbers 12 and 32 (1232=1815). The silver weighs one gram and the gold, according to calculations, should be two grams.

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[7] *Նախնական հրատարակութեան համար տե՛ս Հանդէս Ամսօրեայ, հատոր ՃԲ.* (1988), *թիւ* 1-12, *էջ* 219-20։

ARMENIAN GOLD MEDALS

(Plates 33-36)

In this article, the author discusses the ten Armenian gold medals which are in his collection, and gives details on two other hitherto unreported eighteenth century Armenian marriage medals. The latter raise the number of known gold medals struck in Holland from ten to twelve.

The purpose of this paper is to present information on the ten Armenian gold medals in the writer's possession since some of them have not been reported in the numismatic literature. Rather than risk the possible future loss of knowledge about these medals, it was felt that it is important to make the data available to the public at this time.

For the same reason, the writer takes this opportunity to list two formerly unreported eighteenth century Armenian gold marriage medals from the collection of Mr. Edouard Khederian of Paris.

Armenian gold medals are quite rare. Only a limited number have been struck simply because they represent a considerable capital investment. Most of the earlier gold medals were struck in Holland by wealthy Armenian merchants who had a prosperous colony there during the eighteenth century. Undoubtedly, they followed the Dutch custom of striking such medals.[1]

The Mekhitarists of Vienna and Venice in the past did strike medals on numerous occasions, but most, if not all, were in silver or bronze. The writer has been informed by the Mekhitarists that no record exists of their striking gold medals. Henry Sarkissian of the Numismatic Department of the State Historical Museum in Arme-

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[1] Paul Z. Bedoukian, "Eighteenth Century Armenian Medals Struck in Holland," *Bazmavep,* Vol. CXXXV (1977), Nos. 3-4, pp. 728-751; printed as a booklet (Venice, 1978), 24 pp., 5 pls.; also in SNS [I], pp. 506-537.

nia has long been studying Armenian medals and it is hoped that the publication of his work will bring to light many unreported Armenian gold medals.

It is necessary to divide Armenian gold medals into two categories: those struck with a die (thus insuring the preparation of many specimens) and those prepared by hand and by goldsmiths. The latter, often quite interesting, generally consist of a flat flan on which are inscribed writings or even drawings of saintly figures. In reality, they are not medallions. In this article, we are concerned mainly with medals struck with prepared dies.

The writer's ten Armenian gold medals are listed in chronological order.

1. This oval medal, measuring 42 mm x 39 mm, weighs 30.04 grams.[2]

Obv.: The legend circumscribes the medal clockwise.

Մհտսի մասեհի որդ ալեքսան անապատցի վճռկան ծնել այս թուկան 1727 որ այժմ կայ այ ամսդրտամ 1742:

(Aleksan, the son of Mahdes Masse of Anabad, merchant, born in the year 1727, and now in Amsterdam, 1742.)

To the left on the ribbon downward,

խոհեմ-ութիւն (Prudence)

To the right on the ribbon downward,

եւ առա-քինութիւն (Virtue)

And in the center below the lamb on the horizontal ribbon,

յաղթէ ամէ (Conquers all)

In the center is seen the Agnus Dei standing on a globe, holding the flag in a classic manner. Above the lamb are rays radiating from the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. Two hearts are seen to the right and left of the lamb, one encircled with branches and the other with fruits. On the left, a robed female is standing facing right, signifying prudence, and on the right, a similar figure facing left, signifying virtue. Above all, within the legend, is a large crown with a cross.

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[2] *ibid.*, medal No. 3,

Rev.: Above, on the horizontal ribbon,

մաքուր հաւատ (Pure Faith)

To the left, on the ribbon, downward,

հաստուն յոյս (Firm Hope)

To the right, on the ribbon, downward,

կատարեալ սէր (Complete Love)

In the center is a triangle with the corner circles containing the following inscriptions:

on the left	ՀԱՅՐ	(FATHER)
on the right	ՈՐԴԻ	(SON)
below	ՀՈԳԻ	(HOLY GHOST)

The three corners of the triangle are joined to the center circle with the word ԱԾ (GOD). The joining arms each contain the writing ՈՐ Է signifying IS.

In the upper portion of the medal is a chalice with a wafer having a cross. To the left of it are the two tablets of ten commandments. The one on the left bears the numbers I, II, III, and on the right, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X. To the right of the chalice is a diagonal cross and under it, a Bible.

In the left center, above the ribbon, is an anchor, and in the right center, a heart which is surrounded with a circular wreath.

There is a representation of an angel's head with wings on the lower part of the medal.

The Mekhitarist museums in Venice and Vienna possess examples of this medal which are made of gold-washed silver.

2. This circular medal weighs 18.7 grams has a diameter of 39 mm.[3]

Obv.: Above the figures,

ՍՈՒՐԲ. ԱՄՈՒՍՆՈՒԹԻ: (HOLY MATRIMONY)

In exergue,

ՅՈՎ. ՅԱՐՈՒԹԻ. (HOVHANNESS HAROUTIUN)

[3] *ibid.*, medal No. 5.

Under the pedestal on which the bride stands are the letters G. H. F., representing the Dutch medallist's name, G. Holtzhey F(ecit).

In the field, the bride stands on the right, facing left, with her right hand holding the groom's right hand. The young couple, standing in front of the marriage altar, face each other. Flames appear above the altar which is decorated with two hearts. From above, rays of light pierce the clouds and descend to envelope the couple.

Rev.: In upper semicircle,
ՆԱԽԱՏԵՍՈՒԹԻ. –ԱԾԱՅԻՆ (DIVINE PROVIDENCE)
Rays of sunshine descend on the two clasping hands and arms which appear above the altar. On the vertical face of the ornate altar are seen two pigeons osculating.

The design of this medal appears to be the most popular among Armenian marriage medals struck in Holland in the eighteenth century. It appears that several dies were prepared, differing slightly from each other in details. Thus three varieties are listed in the literature.[4]

Recently the author met Mr. E. Khederian in Paris who showed him a gold medal of this type but struck with a different die (since it lacked the G. H. F. 1749). Mr. Khederian owned two of these medals which he has since donated to his daughters. According to the information he gave, the medals weigh 17.5 grams each.

A second specimen of this gold medal is in the Hermitage Museum, and a third one is reported as having been lost.

3. This relatively large gold medal has a diameter of 50 mm and weighs 34.6 grams. The obverse is somewhat similar to the previous one, but the reverse differs radically.[5]

Obv.: Circular inscription in upper half of medal,
ՍՈՒՐԲ. ԱՄՈՒՍՆՈՒԹԻ: (HOLY MATRIMONY)
In exergue, M. HOLTZHEY FEC.

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[4] *ibid.*

[5] *ibid.*, medal No. 8.

The altar differs considerably from that on medal No. 2. It is less ornate, and instead of being decorated with a pair of hearts, it has two such pairs. In the distance on the left side is a palm tree.

Rev.: Circular inscription in upper half,
ՆԱԽԱՏԵՍՈՒԹ ԱԾԱՅԻՆ: (DIVINE PROVIDENCE)
In the field is a large image of the winged genius standing, facing and holding a flaming torch in his right hand and two hearts in the left hand. Behind him is a water pool where three swans are seen swimming. In the distance to the left, a sphinx faces right. On the right is a vine covered wall. In the far sea, a sailboat is sailing under a few scattered clouds.

A second example of this medal is to be found in the Hermitage Museum.

4. This gold medal, apparently unique, was once the property of Dr. Yacob A. Sargis of Cleveland, who had brought it with him from Persia. After his death, the medal passed on to his son, and eventually was acquired by the author.

It is interesting to note that this medal was featured in *Coin World* around twenty years ago and described as a medal of St. Gregory the Illuminator made in the third century A.D. Of course, the article was shear fantasy without any factual basis.[6]

Te medal is 41 mm in diameter and weighs 9.9 grams. Its style and fabric suggest eighteenth or nineteenth century workmanship.

Obv.: To left of figure, ԳՐ GR(IGOR)
To right of figure, ԼՍ L(OU)S(AVORICH)
The figure of the Armenian Catholicos is seated in a patriarchal chair, holding the staff in his right hand and two fingers extended on his left hand.
Two stars are seen above the legends, and decorative leaves form the border.

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[6] "Unique Medal to be Shown at October Penn-Ohio Convention," *Coin World*, Vol. II (September 29, 1961), No. 76, pp. 46, 47.

Rev.: St. George on horseback left, spearing the dragon. The upper end of the spear ends in a cross and the point is entering the open mouth of the dragon. And again, a border of decorative leaves.

The medal was most likely made by a jeweler who was familiar with the clerical vestments worn by the Armenian Patriarch. Since the Armenian colony of New Julfa, outside of Isfahan, was quite prosperous in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, having its own churches, printing press, etc., it may be assumed that the medal originated in that city.

5. This medal depicting St. Vartan and Etchmiadzin was designed by Mr. Edouard Khederian, a prominent jeweler in Paris. In his letter dated July 22, 1982, Mr. Khederian informed the writer that the preparation and striking of the medal was carried out by Hotel de Monnaies, Institut National Francais and that a total of 300 gold and silver pieces were struck. The gold medal measures 23 mm in diameter and weighs 12 grams.

Obv.: ՄԻՈՒԹԻՒՆԸ ԶՕՐՈՒԹԻՒՆ Է (UNITY IS STRENGTH)

The classic profile of St. Vartan. In the year 451 A.D., St. Vartan led the Armenian forces to defend Christianity. General Vartan and his 1036 followers fell in the battle, but their undaunted spirit forced the Persian monarch to realize that the Armenians would never give up their religion. In recognition of St. Vartan's heroic defense, the Armenian Church sainted him and to this day, an annual commemorative service is held in remembrance of his moral victory.

On the medal, St. Vartan is bearded, faces right, and wears a highly decorative helmet. His right hand holds the upper portion of his sword which has a handle in the form of a cross. The shoulders are heavily draped.

Rev.: ՀԱՒԱՏՔ ՅՈՅՍ ՍԷՐ (FAITH HOPE LOVE)

A representation of the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin, the historic seat of the See of the Armenian Church. Below the edifice, the sun is rising between the two peaks of Mount Ararat.

The medallist's name, Tschudin Scult, appears to the right of the cathedral. Not being an Armenian, the artist apparently made some errors in the formation of his letters. For example, the head of the letter Զ (Z) is open instead of being closed. The proportions of the letters Ն (N) and Է (E) are abnormal. The head of letter Հ (H) is closed instead of being open.

The portraiture of Vartan and the appearance of the cathedral, however, are very artistic.

A number of examples of this medal are to be found in several Armenian and foreign museums.

6. Prior to the consecration of St. Vartan's Cathedral in New York in 1968, the author undertook the sponsorship of striking medals to commemorate this historic event. The design of the medal was conceived by the author, and the well-known Armenian medallists, John Hovannes, was commissioned to execute it. The same design was used to strike gold, silver, and bronze medals, 38 mm in diameter, one in English and another in Armenian. In addition, a large bronze medal, 63 mm in diameter, was struck in Armenian lettering only. The silver and bronze medals were offered for sale to the public. The gold medals, struck in Armenian, were presented to prominent persons who contributed significantly to the building of the cathedral. About 25 to 30 gold medals were struck, each weighing 43.11 grams.

Obv.: ՍԲ. ՎԱՐԴԱՆ ՄԱՅՐ ԵԿԵՂԵՑԻ ՀԱՅՈՑ–ՆԻՒ ԵՈՐՔ–
ՆԱՒԱԿԱՏԻՔ–1968
(ST. VARTAN ARMENIAN CATHEDRAL–NEW YORK, CONSECRATION, 1968)

The medal shows a truly majestic representation of the cathedral, portraying it as an Armenian architectural edifice.

Rev.: ԷՋ.ՄԻԱԾԻՆՆ.Ի ՀՕՐԷ.ԵՒ.ԼՈՅՍ.ՓԱՌԱՑ.ԸՆԴ.ՆՄԱ..
ԵՒ ԾԱԳԵԱՑ.ՄԵԶ.ԼՈՅՍ. Ի ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ. ԱՇԽԱՐՀԻ
(THE ONLY BEGOTTEN CAME DOWN AND LIGHT SHONE UNTO US IN THE LAND OF ARMENIA)

The upper part depicts the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descending in a ray of light. The lower part is the realization of the dream of St. Gregory the Illuminator—the erection of the Etchmiadzin Cathedral in the shadow of Ararat. In the field are profiles of St. Vartan on the left and St. Mesrob on the right. St. Mesrob was the originator of the Armenian alphabet in the year 406 A.D., which made possible the golden age of Armenian literature in the fifth century.

In the uppermost part of the medal is a triangle which contains the letter Է (E), signifying "HE WHO IS" or Divine Essence. In the lower corner of the cathedral the letters JH (the artist's initials) can be seen.

The medals were struck by the well-known Medallic Art Company.

7. In 1969, the Diocese of the Armenian Church decided to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Armenia's beloved composer, Komitas Vartabed. The author was called on to sponsor the striking of an appropriate medal for the occasion. Again, the design was conceived by the writer and this time its execution was given to the famous Armenian medallist, Agop Agopoff. Only one type medal was struck, the obverse in Armenian and the reverse in English, in gold, silver, and bronze. The medal is 38 mm in diameter. The silver and bronze medals were offered for public sale. Five gold medals were struck, each weighing 40.11 grams.

Obv.: Above clockwise,
ԿՈՄԻՏԱՍ ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏ (KOMITAS VARTABED)
Below counterclockwise,
ՀԱՐԻՒՐԱՄԵԱԿ ԾՆՆԴԵԱՆ (CENTENARY OF HIS BIRTH)
The artist has succeeded masterfully in portraying the head of Komitas, bearing slightly to the left. In the field are the dates 1869 and 1969. On the lower right of the collar is seen the artist's signature Ա. ԱԿՈԲՕՖՖ (A. AGOPOFF).

Rev.: Above clockwise,
KOMITAS CENTENNIAL.
Below counterclockwise,

ARMENIAN FOLK MUSIC.

In the field, in the distance, is Mount Ararat and below the mountain one notices fields and trees which partially obscure two Armenian churches. In the foreground, an Armenian peasant is ploughing with a team of oxen. Komitas immortalized such scenes in many of his songs. In the upper part of the medal are two lines from one of his songs:

Առաւօտուն բարի լուս

Աստուած պահէ ամէնուս

(In the morning a good day, may the Lord preserve us all).

Above the lines, a bar of music gives the notation of the song. Above the musical notes is a crest consisting of a lyre and two bugles decorated with laurel leaves.

Artistically, this is perhaps one of the finest Armenian medals ever struck. In 1968, six of the gold consecration medals were re-struck in order to create five gold Komitas medals.

8. In 1972, the author was requested to sponsor the striking of a medal to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the Armenian Church in America (in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1898).

The artist chosen on this occasion was Dikran Dingilian of New York. A most attractive design was conceived and beautifully executed.

The medal is 44 mm (1.75 inches) in diameter, and was struck in silver, bronze, and gold. As always, the silver and bronze pieces were available to the public. The gold medal weighs 71.96 grams. Possibly six gold specimens were struck.

Obv.: Above clockwise,

75TH ANNIVERSARY –

Below counterclockwise,

FOUNDING OF THE DIOCESE OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH OF AMERICA.

A large decorative Armenian cross fills the central space. Under the left wing of the cross is a modest church with an accompanying writing on a ribbon:
1898 WORCESTER MASS
To the right of the cross is a much larger representation of St. Vartan Cathedral. The script across the horizontal ribbon reads:
ST. VARTAN CATHEDRAL NEW YORK 1973
The artist has succeeded in presenting a pleasing balance of the cross, the building and the legends. Under WORCESTER are small letters տ տ (d/d) representing the initials of the artist.

Rev.: Above clockwise,
75ՐԴ ՏԱՐԵԴԱՐՁ (75TH ANNIVERSARY)
Below counterclockwise,
ՀԱՍՏԱՏՄԱՆ ԱՌԱՋՆՈՐԴՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ ԱՄԵՐԻԿԱՅԻ
(FOUNDING OF THE DIOCESE OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH OF AMERICA)
A large crest, surrounded by leaves, dominates the field. Above the crest is a cross with radiating rays. Behind the crest are seen, crosswise, the doctoral and pastoral staffs of the catholicos and the bishop.
The crest shows a circle inside which is Mount Ararat. Beneath the circle is the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin, the seat of the Armenian Holy See. In the upper part of the crest, in Armenian, and surrounding the other three sides, in English, are the words:
ԱՌԱՋՆՈՐԴՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ ԱՄԵՐԻԿԱՅԻ
DIOCESE OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH OF AMERICA.

9. Vasken I Jubilee Medal.
A Committee in London struck medals in 1980 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the enthronement of His Holiness, Vasken I, Catholicos of all the Armenians. In a brochure describing the event, it is stated that a limited edition of 1000 gold medals were struck.

In answer to the author's inquiries, Mr. G. S. Kurkjian, the chairman of the committee, wrote that "the mould was struck by the Royal Mint in 1980 from a design prepared by His Holiness and sent to us, but we did not receive any name of the Armenian artist connected with the design. The royal mint gave the task of the plaster mould to an artist Philip Nathan."

Upon further inquiries to Henry Sarkissian of the Numismatic Department of the State Historical Museum in Erevan, it was learned that the Soviet Armenian artist who designed the medal was Hovsep Papikian.

The gold medal is 38 mm in diameter, weighs 40.0 grams, and is stated to be in 22 karat gold.

Obv.: Clockwise, except for the dates,
ՕԾՄԱՆ 25 ԱՄԵԱԿ ՎԱԶԳԷՆ Ա ԿԱԹՈՂԻԿՈՍԻ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ 1955-1980
(25TH ANNIVERSARY, VASKEN I CATHOLICOS OF ALL THE ARMENIANS, 1955-1980)
A profile of Vasken I left, wearing a simple clerical hood (cowl).

Rev.: Clockwise,
ԷՋ ՄԻԱԾԻՆՆ Ի ՀՕՐԷ ԵՒ ԼՈՅՍ ՓԱՌԱՑ ԸՆԴ ՆՄԱ
(THE ONLY BEGOTTEN DESCENDED FROM THE FATHER, AND THE LIGHT OF GLORY WAS WITH HIM.)
A ray of light descends on the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin. Behind the cathedral are the twin peaks of Ararat, with Noah's ark resting on the major peak.

10. On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of Armenian General Benevolent Union, the April 1982 issue of the AGBU's publication, *Hoosharar*, contained the following advertisement:

"On the occasion of the AGBU's 75th anniversary, a beautiful medal has been struck to commemorate this historic event.

"The medal illustrated above honors Boghos Nubar Pasha, the founder of the AGBU, and Alex Manoogian, its Life President. The circular inscription on the obverse and on the reverse appears in both English and Armenian.

"The design for the medal was conceived by the noted numismatist, Dr. Paul Bedoukian, and its artistic execution was carried out by the well-known sculptor from Erevan, G. Gevorkyan, whose work has been acclaimed both in Armenia and the Diaspora. The medals were struck by the prestigious Medallic Art Company of Danbury, Connecticut.

"The medal, 2 1/4 inches in diameter and 1/4 inch thick, is available in 14 karat gold, sterling silver (.999-average weight 3.6 troy oz.) and bronze. It makes a meaningful and memorable gift for anniversaries, birthdays, and other occasions."

The gold medal weighs 143 grams.

Obv.: Outer circular inscription, clockwise,
BOGHOS NUBAR PASHA–FOUNDER·
ALEX MANOOGIAN–PRESIDENT
Inner circle in Armenian,
ՊՕՂՈՍ ՆՈՒՊԱՐ ՓԱՇԱ–ՀԻՄՆԱԴԻՐ·
ԱԼԵՔ ՄԱՆՈՒԿԵԱՆ–ՆԱԽԱԳԱՀ
In the field are seen two profiles turned left—Boghos Nubar with a mustache on the left, and on the right, a bespectacled Alex Manoogian. Beneath the lapel of Alex Manoogian are the artist's initials, ԳԳ (GG).
Two profiles are well executed. They portray the vision and character of two great Armenians, whose efforts have helped tens of thousands of Armenians in their periods of trial and who have provided the means for many thousands of Armenian young men and women to obtain a higher education.
Underneath the profiles, the dates 1906/1981.

Rev.: Outer circular inscription, clockwise,
ARMENIAN GENERAL BENEVOLENT UNION.
Below counterclockwise,
75TH ANNIVERSARY.
Similarly, in the inner circle,
ՀԱՅԿ. ԲԱՐԵԳՈՐԾԱԿԱՆ ԸՆԴՀԱՆՈՒՐ ՄԻՈՒԹԻՒՆ·
75-ՐԴ ՏԱՐԵԴԱՐՁ
In the center, the crest of the AGBU is surrounded by a leaf design. The crest is quartered and contains the letters ՀԲԸՄ

(HBEM) which stand for the initial letters of the Armenian General Benevolent Union.[7]

ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ՈՍԿԻԷ ՄԵՏԱԼՆԵՐ

[*Ամփոփում*]

Այս յօդուածով հեղինակը կը նկարագրէ իր հաւաքածոյին մէջի տասը հայկական ոսկիէ մետալները։ Նկարագրուած մետալները կը դասաւորուին հետևապէս.—

1. *Բարոյա-խրատական մետալ մը պատրաստուած Մահտեսի Մասեհի որդի Ալեքսան Անապատցի վաճառականին համար, կոխուած՝ Ամսդերտամի մէջ* 1742 *թ.։ Ակողմին վրայի պատգամն է* «խոհեմութիւն» *և* «առաքինութիւն» «յաղթէ ամենայնի». *իսկ բեկողմինը՝* «մաքուր հաւատ», «հաստատուն յոյս», «կատարեալ սէր»: *Ինչպէս նաև հաւատք Ս. Երրորդութեան մէջ։*
2. *Յովհաննէս Յարութիւնի ամուսնական մետալը, կերտուած՝ հոլանտացի անուանի մետալագործ Գ. Հոլցհէյի կողմէ։ Արձանագրութիւններն են* «Ս. Ամուսնութիւն» *և* «Աստուածային նախատեսութիւն» *նորապսակ ամոլի մը համար։*
3. *Այլ ամուսնական մետալ մը, քանդակուած՝ հոլանտացի մետալագործ Մ. Հոլցհէյի կողմէ։*
4. *Ս. Գրիգոր Լուսաւորիչի մետալը որ թողարկուած պէտք է ըլլայ ԺԸ. կամ ԺԹ. դ., հաւանաբար Պարսկաստանի մէջ։ Բեկողմին վրայ դրուագուած է ձիաւոր Ս. Գէորգը որ կը նիզակահարէ վիշապ մը։*
5. *Ս. Վարդանի և էջմիածնի փոքր մետալը, յղացուած Ե. Խեդերեանի կողմէ, քանդակուած՝ Զչուդին Սկուլդի կողմէ Փարիզի մէջ։*
6. *Նիւ Եորքի Ս. Վարդան Մայր եկեղեցւոյ օծման մետալը, նախնական ծրագիրը յղացուած՝ Զարեհ Պտուկեանի կողմէ և կերտուած՝ Ջոն Յովհաննէսի կողմէ* 1968 *թ.։ Մետալները պատ-*

[7] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. IX (1983), No. 2, pp. 14-25, pls. II-III..

րաստուած են պրոնզէ, արծաթէ և քիչ քանակութեամբ ոսկիէ։ Արծաթեայ օրինակը դրուագուած է նաև անգլերէն արձանագրութեամբ։

7. Կոմիտաս Վարդապետի ծննդեան 100ամեակին նուիրուած մետալը, նախնական ծրագիրը պատրաստուած՝ Զարեհ Պտուկեանի կողմէ և կատարելագործուած ու քանդակուած՝ Ա. Ակոբօֆֆի կողմէ 1969 թ.։ Մետալը կոխուած է պրոնզէ, արծաթէ և քիչ քանակութեամբ ոսկիէ։
8. Հայաստանեայց եկեղեցւոյ Ամերիկայի մէջ հաստատուելուն 75-ամեակին ձօնուած մետալը, նախնական ծրագիրը յղացուած՝ Զարեհ Պտուկեանի կողմէ, կատարելագործուած ու կերտուած՝ Նիւ Եորքաբնակ Տիգրան Տինկիլեանի կողմէ 1973 թ.։ Մետալը կոխուած է պրոնզէ, արծաթէ, և չատ քիչ քանակութեամբ ոսկիէ։
9. Վազգէն Ա Կաթողիկոսի գահակալութեան 25ամեակին նուիրուած մետալը, հեղինակութեամբ՝ Յովսէփ Պապիկեանի և Բրիտանական արքայական դրամահատարանի Ֆիլիփ Նաթանի կատարելագործութեամբ, կոխուած՝ Լոնդոնի մէջ արծաթէ ու ոսկիէ։
10. Հայկական Բարեգործական Ընդհանուր Միութեան 75րդ տարեդարձին յուչամետալը, նախնական ծրագիրը յղացուած՝ Զարեհ Պտուկեանի կողմէ և կերտուած՝ Գ. Գէորգեանի կողմէ, թողարկուած՝ 1981 թ. պրնոզէ, արծաթէ և ոսկիէ։

Յիչատակութեան արժանի է, որ հայկական ոսկիէ մետալները հազուագիւտ են և սովորաբար՝ տնտեսկան մեծ գումարներու պահանջքով՝ հատանուած են խիստ սահմանափակ թիւով։ Անոնք թողարկուած են սփիւռքի բարգաւաճ գաղութներուն մէջ (Ամստերտամ, Նոր Ջուղա, Փարիզ, Նիւ Եորք, Լոնդոն և այլն) ուր հայ ազգային աւանդութիւնները միահիւսուելով տեղացի ժողովուրդներու բարքերուն ստեղծեցին սփիւռքի հայութեան ոսկիէ սակաւաթիւ ու փոքրածաւալ յուչարձանները։

AN ARMENIAN MEDAL, STRUCK IN 1908 BY PATRIARCH IZMIRLIAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW CONSTITUTION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE GUARANTEEING EQUALITY FOR ALL

(Plate 37)

The bronze medal, believed to be hitherto unpublished, commemorates an historic event, the adoption in 1908 of a constitution by Sultan Hamid II of Turkey guaranteeing liberty and freedom for all the peoples in the Ottoman Empire.

Made in low relief, the medal is suspended from a multicolored ribbon which is retained by an ornamented bar pin having a star in its center.

Obv.: At top, a five-pointed star (Plate 37, Fig. 1a). To the left downward circular, in Armenian,
ԿԵՑՑԷ ՍԱՀՄԱՆԱԴՐՈՒԹԻՒՆ
(LONG LIVE THE CONSTITUTION).
To the right, in Arabic script (and in Turkish),
یشاسون حریت
(LONG LIVE THE CONSTITUTION).
In the upper field of the medal, a wide crescent underneath the star with a legend in Arabic script (and in Turkish),
یشاسون عسکریه
(LONG LIVE THE ARMY).

Below the crescent, in a rectangle in prominent letters, "1908," and underneath in Armenian,
ՅՈՒԼԻՍ 11
(JULY 11)

Rev.: Bust of the Patriarch Izmirlian, in religious conical head-dress, wearing two decorative crosses and a medallion (Plate 37, Fig. 1b). Underneath the bust, his full title,
Բ(ԱՐՁՐԱԾՆՈՐՀ) Տ(ԷՐ) Տ(ԷՐ) ՄԱՏԹԷՈՍ Ա. ԻԶՄԻՐԼԵԱՆ
(MOST GRACIOUS TER TER MADTEOS I IZMIRLIAN).
Weight of medal, 5.40 g.
Weight of entire decoration, 18.49 g.

Historical Background

In the fall of 1876, when Sultan Hamid II ascended the Ottoman throne, his empire stretched from the Adriatic Sea to the Indian Ocean. But trouble lay ahead. Russia had stated its opposition to the Turkish oppression of its Christian population and considered it justifiable to intervene to end this intolerable situation. In order to thwart Russian plans, the sultan, on December 13, 1876, adopted a constitution modelled after the French system. Its stated purpose was to give equality and a measure of freedom to the different peoples in the country.[1]

But this was not to be. Before long, the Bulgarians' ambitions for self-determination led to a series of massacres by Turkey, thereby prompting Russia to declare war on Turkey on April 24, 1877. Because of the cruelties perpetrated on the Bulgarians, not a single European power was willing to help Turkey. The Russian armies quickly reached Adrianapolis in the West and occupied Kars, Ardahan, and Bayazid in the East. The Treaty of San Stefano signed by Russia and Turkey on March 3, 1878, liberated the Balkan coun-

[1] Historical events cited in this paper were gleaned from: A). *Azgapatum*, by Arch. M. Ormanian, Part 3, Vol. III (reprint, Beirut, 1961) (in Armenian); B). *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 22 (1959), "Turkey," pp. 604-605; C). *Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3 (Erevan, 1977), pp. 590-591 and Vol. 4 (1978), pp. 255-256 (in Armenian).

tries and extracted a promise from the sultan to institute reforms in the Armenian provinces.

Since the European powers did not stand to acquire any gains under the terms of this treaty, they did not support it. On the contrary, continuing its historic opposition to the advances of Russia towards the Mediterranean, England signed a defensive alliance with the sultan on June 4, 1878. In this treaty (as in the San Stefano Treaty), the sultan promised to insure reforms in the Armenian provinces. Of course, there were no guarantees, and before long the sultan resumed his policy of exterminating the minorities. Desperate efforts by Armenians to secure some justice were drowned in the massacres of Sassoun and other localities.

In 1882, Sultan Hamid established strict press controls and censorship and formed an extensive network of spies to stifle freedom of speech. To counter these moves, a law student in Salonika, Talaat Bey, together with some friends, founded a secret society known as "Union and Progress," and gradually united all the revolutionary Turkish societies in Europe. Under his leadership, the group which became known as the "Young Turks" managed to gain control of some of the armed forces and staged a successful uprising in July, 1908. Sultan Hamid was left with no alternative but to restore the constitution. This bloodless revolution aroused much enthusiasm among the Serbian, Bulgarian, Greek, and Armenian revolutionaries. They sent representatives to Salonika to join the "Union and Progress" party. It seemed that at long last all the elements of the empire would unite under a constitutional government.

Subsequent events proved otherwise, in part because of long-established policies of the different nationalities. In the end, the "Young Turks" seized the opportunity during the World War I to commit the first genocide of the century (1915), massacring a million and a half Armenians and driving the survivors from their ancestral lands.

The Medal

With the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, passionate speeches swearing eternal brotherhood and equality were heard all over the empire. Political prisoners were released, many returned

from abroad and press censorship was lifted. It was in this atmosphere that our bronze medal was struck by the Patriarch Izmirlian. He was born on February 12, 1845, in Constantinople, and christened Simon. He received his early education in the local Armenian school in Koumkapou and at the age of 17 was transferred to Ortakeoy as a teacher under the protection of Bishop John Gaboudigian. On July 29, 1869, the latter introduced the 24 year old young man to the priesthood. Simon was given the name Matthew (Madteos) in memory of the beloved Patriarch who had preceded Gaboudigian.

Izmirlian was interested in current events, became imbued with liberal ideas, and joined movements to restore a constitutional government. His deep involvement in national affairs and his devotion to the church brought about his election as Patriarch by a unanimous vote in 1894.

It was a difficult period for the Armenian people. The sultan was bent on their annihilation in Asia Minor. Certainly, Izmirlian's idealistic views did not sit well with him. Moreover, the loss of territories to the Serbs, Greeks, and Bulgarians only increased his determination to suppress any liberal movements among the Armenian people. Under pressure from the authorities, Izmirlian was forced to resign on July 21, 1896.

On November 6-18 of that year, the Armenian electoral body by a two-third vote chose Ormanian as the Patriarch of Constantinople. His election was confirmed by the sultan within a few days. Ormanian was a pliable diplomat and he managed to extract some concessions from the sultan. However, his policy of not raising his voice against the atrocities committed angered the progressive elements within the Armenian community.

With the political success of the "Young Turks," Ormanian was forced to resign on July 16-29, 1908. It is curious that the date shown on the medal is "1908 JULY 11," indicating that Izmirlian was allied with the progressive elements even before his re-election to the Patriarchate on October 22-24, 1908. His popularity was so

great that in the following year, he was elected Catholicos of all the Armenians and moved to Etchmiadzin to hold that high position.[2]

ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ՄԵՏԱԼ ՄԸ, ԿՈԽՈՒԱԾ՝ Կ. ՊՈԼՍՈՅ ՄԷՋ 1908 Թ. ԻԶՄԻՐԼԵԱՆ ՊԱՏՐԻԱՐՔԻ ԿՈՂՄԷ, ՏՕՆԵԼՈՒ ՀԱՄԱՐ ՕՍՄԱՆԵԱՆ ԿԱՅՍՐՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՄԷՋ ՀԱՍՏԱՏՈՒՈՂ ՍԱՀՄԱՆԱԴՐՈՒԹԻՒՆԸ, ՈՐ ՀԱՒԱՍԱՐՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՊԻՏԻ ԱՊԱՀՈՎԷՐ ԲՈԼՈՐ ՄԱՐԴԿԱՆՑ ՀԱՄԱՐ

[*Ամփոփում*]

Սելանիկի թրքական բանակը, երիտթուրքերու հրամանատարութեան ներքև, 1908 *թ. ստիպեց սուլթան Համիտին վերականգնել* 1876 *թ. սահմանադրութիւնը։*

Իզմիրլեան իր ազատամիտ գաղափարներուն պատճառով, 1894 *թ. միաձայնութեամբ Կ. Պոլսոյ Պատրիարք ընտրուեցաւ։ Սակայն կառավարական ճնշումներու ներքև հարկադրուեցաւ հրաժարիլ* 1896 *թ.։ Իրեն յաջորդեց Մ. Օրմանեան, որ եղաւ դիւանագէտ պատրիարք մը։ Երբ սուլթանը վերահաստատեց սահմանադրութիւնը, Օրմանեան հրաժարեցաւ Կ. Պոլսոյ պատրիարքութենէն* 16–29 *Յուլիս* 1908 *թ.։*

Սակայն խնդրոյ առարկայ մետալին վրայի թուագրութիւնն է «1908 *Յուլիս* 11»։ *Այս մետալէն կարելի է եզրակացնել, թէ Իզմիրլեան դաշնակցած է յառաջդիմական տարրերուն հետ նոյն իսկ իր պատրիարք ընտրուելէն* (22–24 *Հոկտեմբեր* 1908 *թ.*) *առաջ։*

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[2] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. XIV (1988), No. 3, pp. 24-26.

A MEDAL OF THE ARMENIAN COLLEGE IN CALCUTTA

(Plate 37)

Although the striking of Armenian coins ceased with the collapse of the Roupenian dynasty in 1375, the issuance of medals requiring only the efforts of an institution or an individual continued through the ensuing centuries.

It is unfortunate that so few Armenian medals have appeared in publications. In his classic work *Armenian Numismatic Bibliography and Literature*, Y. Nercessian[1] lists nearly 1300 references of which merely 100 refer to medals, including a handful struck outside of Armenia.

An interesting silver medal which came to the writer's possession some time ago was struck by the Armenian College in Calcutta established in 1826 (Plate 37, Fig. 2). According to the *Armenian Encyclopedia*,[2] the Armenian colony in Calcutta was in existence before the coming of the British. Armenian tombstones have been found dated 1630 and 1648. In 1724, the colony was sufficiently large and prosperous to build the St. Nazareth Armenian Church. In 1820, the Armenians published a newspaper and continued publication of other books and periodicals. Some schools and cultural organizations are in operation to this day. By 1979, however, through assimilation or dispersion, the count of Armenians living in Calcutta numbered barely 180.

The medal under discussion was issued by the Armenian College to be given to students on special occasions. On the reverse is a

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[1] Y. T. Nercessian, *Armenian Numismatic Bibliography and Literature* (Los Angeles, 1984).

[2] *Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia*, Vol. 5 (Erevan, 1979), p. 178.

wreath around the border surrounding a blank space in the center for inscriptions befitting the occasion. In the blank space of our medal is inscribed "29-12-24," obviously the date of the presentation of the medal, over the word "FLY," the meaning of which remains obscure.

The obverse is quite interesting. The legend reads: (above) "ARMENIAN COLLEGE" and (below) "CALCUTTA." The design in the center represents the coat of arms of Armenia.

The representation of the coat of arms is in itself worthy of special study. Several designs of coats of arms of Armenia have appeared in publications during the past century. None of these is official, of course, except the one on passports issued by the independent Republic of Armenia. S. Vratzian,[3] in his volume *Republic of Armenia* shows another version, again different from the one seen on our medal.

Above the shield of the coat of arms is a crown adorned with a cross on the top, undoubtedly denoting the Christian nature of the crown. The crown itself as usual is adorned with precious stones.

In the center of the shield is a circle portraying Mt. Ararat, with Noah's Ark.

In the upper right hand quarter of the shield are figures of the sun, the legendary dragon (Vishap) and flames. This is indeed a mythical presentation of the beliefs in prehistoric Armenia. In ancient times, the Persians and Armenians worshipped the fire and the sun. The cult of the dragons was also practiced in Armenia and to this day many large stones in Armenia are called Vishaps. The pictorial representation here, however, is that of a winged creature with the head of a serpent. It should be recalled that the concept of the sun God conquering the Vishap dates back to the earliest times of Egyptian history.

The lower right hand quarter shows the moon, nine 5-pointed stars and the head and shoulders of a lamb. The significance of this is not clear. The third or lower left hand corners show a seated lion and a towel or a sheet of linen with the imprint of a head. This lion

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[3] S. Vratzian, *Republic of Armenia* (Paris, 1928).

was the insignia of the Roupenian kings of Cilician Armenia and the imprint of a head refers to the legend mentioned by Moses of Khorene: "Anan, Abgar's messenger, brought his letter with the Saviour's portrait from life, which has remained in the city of Edessa up to the present."[4]

The fourth, upper left hand corner shows the figure of an eagle, the emblem of the Artaxiad dynasty, and an edifice with three spires. The significance of this structure is not apparent, but may refer to a building of the pre-Christian era.

The shield is held by two lions with their heads turned backwards. The two lions wear different crowns. The one on the left wears a squarish crown possibly related to the crowns seen on the coins of the Artaxiads. The crown of the right lion is reminiscent of the crowns worn by more modern kings, perhaps those of Cilician Armenia.

The background of these decorations consists of two large flags on each side, a lance on the left (French polaxe, 15th century) and another lance (a double axe) on the right.[5] Nearest the crown on either side are two indistinct weapons of the medieval period.

It is obvious that the medal was designed by a knowledgeable person, possibly a teacher of history at the Armenian College.

The medal is made of silver, and weighs 28.65 grams. Its diameter is 38 mm and thickness is 2.5 mm.

Possibly, some of these medals could have been struck in gold or in copper. It may be of interest to write to the Armenian College in Calcutta requesting any information they may be able to provide.[6]

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[4] R. W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i, History of the Armenians* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978).

[5] *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Vol. 7 (New York, 1986), p. 324, Scribners.

[6] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. XVIII (1992), No. 2, pp. 33-34, pl. III.

ԿԱԼԿԱԹԱՅԻ ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ԳՈԼԷՃԻ ՄԵՏԱԼԸ

[Ամփոփում]

Կալկաթա քաղաքին մէջ հոծ հայութիւն մը ապրած է։ Հայկական գերեզմանաքարեր կան, որոնք թուագրուած են 1630 և 1648։ Ներկայիս, հազիւ 180 հայ կարելի ըլլայ գտնել հոն։

Կալկաթայի հայկական գոլէճը հիմնադրուած է 1826 թուին։ Վարժարանի թողարկած մետալին ետևը սկզբին պարապ կոխուած է (Տախտակ 37, Նկար 2)։ Ըստ երևոյթին, յատուկ առիթներուն ուսանողներուն պարգևատրուելու նպատակով ձեռնարկուած մետալ մըն է։ Ետևի թուագրութիւնն է «29-12-24», զոր արձանագրուած է «FLY» բառին վրայ, որու նպատակը անյայտ կը մնայ։

Մետալի երեսին վրայի շրջագրութիւնն է «ARMENIAN COLLEGE» և «CALCUTTA»։ Կեդրոնը դրուագուած է Հայաստանի զինանշանը։ Վահանի վրան զետեղուած է թագ մը։ Կեդրոնը, շրջանակին միջև կը նշմարուի Արարատ լեռը և Նոյի տապանը։ Վերը աջին պատկերուած է արևն ու փիշապ մը, վարը աջին՝ լուսինն ու աստղերը և գառնուկի մը ուսը, վարը ձախին՝ նստած առիւծ մը և Յիսուսի նկարով անձեռոց մը, վերը ձախին՝ արծիւ մը և երեք սրածայր գագաթով շէնք մը։

Վահանը բռնուած է երկու առիւծներու թաթերով։ Իսկ վահանի ետին կան դրօշակներ, նիզակներ և միջնադարեան զէնքեր։ Մետալը շինուած է արծաթէ, 28.65 կրամ, 38 մմ տրամագիծ և 2.5 մմ հաստութիւն։

A MAGNIFICENT ARMENIAN TRAY

(Plates 38-55)

Recently, the writer came into possession of an old Armenian copper tray which, because of its distinguishing features, deserves to be brought to public attention. It is unusually large, having a diameter of 142 cm (56 inches) and weighing 36.4 kgs (80 lbs), and was made in 1735.

The purpose of this article is to describe the tray and to provide pictorial illustrations for the reader. To more competent scholars will be left the task of studying and comparing the workmanship and epigraphy from an artistic viewpoint with contemporary manuscripts.

Photographing metal objects presents special problems. In order to secure sufficient contrast between the surface of the tray and the engraved designs, the surface was covered with powder and then dusted off, leaving the engravings white and the remainder the original copper color. The author is grateful to Mr. Edwin P. McIntyre for divising this procedure and for preparing all the photographs.

Special thanks are also due to H. G. Archbishop Nersoyan, who personally examined the tray, read and translated the inscriptions, and interpreted various aspects of the design of the tray.

Provenance

Armenian antiquities, including manuscripts and historically valuable artifacts, have often been saved from the destructive actions of oppressors by the heroism and sacrifice of patriotic Armenians. In this instance, it was the late Yervant Garabedian of Beirut who at the risk of his life physically carried the tray on his back through the mountain passes of Cilicia into Syria and finally into Lebanon. In a letter addressed to the writer, dated May 21, 1959, Mr. Garabedian states that in 1952 the tray was given to the

late Catholicos, Karekin who planned to organize a raffle in order to raise sufficient funds to reward Mr. Garabedian and to place this valuable historical artifact in a suitable national institution.

Unfortunately, these plans did not materialize and the tray remained in the possession of Mr. Garabedian. In 1958, the well-known antique dealer, the late Mr. Hagop Kevorkian of New York, expressed an interest in this object and it was shipped to him in the same year. The sale did not materialize, however, and eventually the tray was purchased by the late Mr. Jacob Kamborian of Boston. Soon after the latter's death in 1971, Mrs. Jacob Kamborian, carrying out the wishes of her husband, generously made it possible for the writer to acquire the tray.

Metalworking in Armenia

Knowledge of metalworking has existed in Armenia since time immemorial. Being a mountainous country rich in minerals, it was only natural for its inhabitants to acquire the necessary skills in all phases of processing minerals and working with metals. In a recent publication, B. Arakelian[1] devotes an entire chapter to metalworking in Armenia and discusses in some detail metallurgical processes, as well as the art of manufacturing weapons, agricultural implements, household appliances, jewelry, etc.

Working with copper as well as its alloys such as bronze and brass presented few problems and it is not surprising that we find many large and small objects made from this metal. Various techniques were used in working with copper, such as casting, hammering into the shape of the object desired, and joining various pieces by special welding methods.[2]

It appears that our tray was fashioned by hammering a large piece of copper into a flat, circular plate, turning the edge in about an inch and then forming a wide band for the circular legend. Finally, the ring was turned downward and hammered to give a finished edge. Raising the edge about an inch and leaving sufficient

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[1] Babken Arakelian, *The Cities and the Arts in Armenia from the Ninth through the Thirteenth Century* (Erevan, 1958) (in Armenian).

[2] *ibid.*, pp. 153-170.

space for the legend not only offered an opportunity to add the desired inscription in colophon style, but was sound engineering since it added great strength to such a large flat object which would otherwise be more prone to easy buckling and breaking. Even with the present structure, it can easily be seen from the photographs that breaks have developed in six and eleven o'clock positions, although they have been repaired—with some damage to the legend. In general, however, considering that it is two and a half centuries old, it is in a remarkable state of preservation.

Reports on Metal Trays

There have been few studies on Armenian metal objects. In view of the large number of pieces available dating back to prehistoric times, this presents a challenge to interested scholars. Arakelian repeatedly refers to Orbeli's[3] catalogue of metal objects in the Museum of Ani. Many of these objects are now in the National Historical Museum in Erevan and are listed and described in a recent publication by Mousheghian.[4]

Of particular interest are a number of copper trays mentioned in this publication. One (No. 187) is listed as a large tray (dimensions not given) made in Julfa in 1477, richly engraved in the signs of the Zodiac, with various animals and flowers, and having Armenian and Arabic legends.[5] Another large tray (No. 198) of unknown provenance and uncertain date is described as having a diameter of 90 cm (35.5 inches). Tray No. 248, reported to be in a very poor condition but having extensive engravings and legends, was made in 1783 for Etchmiadzin and measures 46 cm (18 inches) in diameter. A fourth (No. 272) designated as a large tray, was made in 1885 and measures only 34 cm (13.5 inches) in diameter. Many small trays and plates are also listed in this publication.

By comparison, our tray made in 1735 and measuring 142 cm (56 inches) in diameter must be considered extraordinary.

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[3] I. Orbeli, *Catalogue of the Ani Museum* (in Russian).

[4] Evgine Mousheghian, *Distinctive Catalogue of the Museum's Collection* (Erevan, 1964) (in Armenian).

[5] This tray is illustrated in a pamphlet of the National Historical Museum of Armenia published in 1964.

DESCRIPTION OF TRAY

On critical examination of this tray, using a magnifying glass whenever necessary, it becomes obvious that it is the work of a master craftsman of the highest caliber. All the lines are smooth, continuous and uniform, free from any defects due to imperfect handling of the engraving tools. The whole tray was obviously made by hammering into the flat surface with an object like a fine-pointed hard chisel. Letters were formed by hammering with a fine-pointed tool, leaving the original smooth surface raised in relief to form the letter. It is like a master drawing with the lines being hammered below the surface with a fine tool.

The perfect symmetry of the various designs indicates an understanding of geometry and angle measurements. It appears that lines were drawn from the center of the circle to make certain that designs were equidistant from the center. The four lines inside the outer legend were evidently drawn as circles with a hard point, using sufficient force to penetrate the surface and create a permanent circular line. The fifth line just inside the circular design was apparently made more obvious and prominent by going over it with a fine-pointed chisel.

In the central design are no less than eighteen such circular lines which serve both an ornamental purpose and as limiting boundaries for lettering and designs. The master craftsman must have drawn many other lines to guide himself in the execution of the symmetrical designs, but these were, of course, made with a view to their eventual erasure. Thus, the outer rim of the inner design, made with continuous triangular forms, has a circle limiting the size of each triangle. Their uniformity is witness to this fact. The uniformity of the large inner cross with tree motifs must also have been executed with circular guidelines.

The outer legend is extremely interesting in that it is in a sense analogous to the colophon of a manuscript. It is in the form of a rhymed poem and photographs of the whole inscription are shown in Plates 53, 54, 55.

The entire inscription, with ligatures converted to their true letters, abbreviations eliminated, is given below along with its transla-

tion.[6] It is obvious from the inscription that the learned Doctor Elija was a pious man who took great pains so that his memorial to the Holy See of Cilicia should be worthy of himself and the Catholicos,

ՍԱ Է ՍԵՂԱՆ ՆԸՄԱՆԱԿԱՆ
ՆՈՅՆ ՍԵՂԱՆԻՆ ՏԷՐՈՒՆԱԿԱՆ
ՍԲ ԱՌԱՔԵԱԼՔ ԵՐԿՈՏԱՍԱՆ
ԸՆԴ ՔՐԻՍՏՈՍԻ ԱՆԴ ԲԱԶՄԵՑԱՆ
ՕՐԻՆԱԿԱՆ ԶԳԱՌՆ ԿԵՐԱՆ
ԵՒ ԶԲԱՂԱՐՋՆ ԸՆԴ ԵՂԵԳԵԱՆ
ԱՅԼ ԵՒ ԶՀԱՑՆ ԱՆՄԱՀՈՒԹԵԱՆ
Ի ՁԵՌԱՑ ՏԵԱՌՆ ԸՆԿԱԼԱՆ
ԵՒ ՓՐԿԱԿԱՆ ԶԲԱԺԱԿՆ ՅԱՐԵԱՆ
ՅԱՐԲԵԼՈ ԵՏ ՏԷՐՆ ՀՐԱՄԱՆ
ԻՍԿ ՈՐՔ ԲԱԶՄԻՆ ՅԱՅՍԸՄ ՍԵՂԱՆ
ԱՐԺԱՆԱՑԻՆ ՆՈՅՆ ՕՐՀՆՈՒԹԵԱՆ
ԼԻՑԻՆ ՅԱԳԵԱԼՔ ԱՆՃԱՌԱԿԱՆ
ՇՆՈՐՀՕՔ ԱՋՈՅՆ ԱՍՏԻԱԾԱԿԱՆ
ՀԱՅՐԱՊԵՏԻԻԸՆ ՍԸՐԲԱԶԱՆ
ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏՕՔ ԱՐՀԻԱԿԱՆ
ՅՈՐԺԱՄ ԲԱԶՄԻՔ ԱՅՍԸՄ ՍԵՂԱՆ
ՎԱՅԵԼԵԼ ԲԱՐԵԱՑՆ ՈՐՔ ԱՍՏ ԿԱՆ
ՅԻՇԵՑԷՔ ԵՒ ԶԻՍ ԶԱՆՊԻՏԱՆ
ՄԵՂԱՊԱՐՏ ԶԵՂԻԱ ՅԱԲԵՂԱՆ
ԵՂԵՒ ԶՐԱՒՆ ԿԱԶՄՈՒԹԵԱՆ
ԹՎԱԿԱՆԻՍ ՄԵՐ ՀԱՅԿԱԶԵԱՆ
ԵՐԿ ՇՐՋԱՆԱՒ ԵՐԿՈԲԵԼԵԱՆ
ՅԱՒԵԼՈՐԴԱՒՆ ԵՐԿՏԱՍԵԱՆ
ԵՐԲ ՅԱԳԵԱԼ ԱՍԷՔ ԶՀԱՅՐ ՄԵՂԱՆ
ՅԻՇԵՑԷՔ ԶԾՆՈՂՍ ՄԻԱՅՆԳԱՄԱՅՆ
ԶԻ ԸՍՏԱՑԱ ԵՒ ԳՆԵՑԻ
ԶՍԱ ԻՄՈՅՍ ՀԱԼԱԼ ԱՐԴԵԱՆ
ԵԴԻ ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿ ԿԻԼԻԿԻԱՆ
ՅԱԹՈՌՆ ԼՈՒՍԱՒՈՐՉԵԱՆ
Թ ՌՃՁԴ ԵՂԵՒ

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[6] A. G. Abrahamian, *History of Armenian Letters and Paleography* (Erevan, 1959), p. 277 (in Armenian).

THIS IS A TABLE SIMILAR
TO THE TABLE OF THE LORD
THE TWELVE APOSTLES
SAT THEREAT WITH CHRIST
THEY ATE THE LAMB ACCORDING TO LAW
AND WITH THE UNLEAVENED BREAD
ALSO THE BREAD OF IMMORTALITY
FROM THE HANDS OF THE LORD THEY RECEIVED
AND THE SAVING CUP OF THE BLOOD
WHICH THE LORD GAVE THE COMMAND TO DRINK
AND THOSE WHO SIT AT THE TABLE
MAY BE WORTHY OF THE SAME BLESSING
MAY BE SATISFIED INEFFABLY
BY THE GRACE OF THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD
TOGETHER WITH THE HOLY PATRIARCH
AND WITH THE REVEREND DOCTORS
WHEN YOU SIT AT THIS TABLE
TO ENJOY THE BOUNTIES HEREON LAID
REMEMBER ME THE UNWORTHY ONE
THE SINFUL MONK ELIJA
THE MAKING OF THIS WAS COMPLETED
ACCORDING TO THE ARMENIAN CALENDAR
TWO CYCLES AND TWO FIFTY YEARS
PLUS TWENTY YEARS
AND WHEN FILLED SAY “FATHER I HAVE SINNED”
REMEMBER ALSO MY PARENTS
FOR I HAVE PURCHASED AND ACQUIRED
THIS WITH MY RIGHTFUL ASSETS
I PLACED THIS AS A MEMORIAL FOR CILICIAN
SEE IN THE NAME OF THE ENLIGHTENER
THIS IS THE YEAR 1184

The date of the tray is given in lines 23 and 24 and also at the end of the legend. The Armenian Great Calendar was adopted as being 532 at a meeting in Alexandria in the year 561. The number 532 was obtained by multiplying 28 solar years with 19 lunar years. In the legend, therefore, we have two cycles of the Armenian calendar

plus two fifty years, plus twenty: 532 x 2 = 1064, plus 50 x 2 = 100, plus 20, totaling 1184. This corresponds to the Armenian date ՌՃՁԴ or 1184 given in the legend. In order to obtain the modern Christian calendar year, one must add 551 to 1184, thus obtaining 1735, the year of the completion of the tray.

Next to the legend, but on the tray surface, are three circular lines followed by a 15 mm wide circular design which serves to frame the whole tray. It consists of a repetitious pattern giving it the appearance of a lacy border. Within, there is a pronounced line about 8 mm towards the center of the tray.

Christ (Plate 38) and His twelve disciples represent the main theme of the tray. The thirteen figures within circles are separated by a conventionalized cypress tree ornamented with two birds near the top. Each of the circles of the disciples has two stars next to the birds. Below the circles are a large plate, knife, and fork, or a small plate and a pitcher.

Christ is shown prominently (Plate 39). For the sake of artistic symmetry, His circle is the same size as the others, but the circle and the environment are much more richly decorated than the others. For example, while the disciples have a cross above on the circle, that of Christ extends to the border and the Holy Spirit is seen descending in the form of a Dove; below is the letter Է (meaning the Only Begotten One) within a decorative design. Whereas the other circles have stars above them, Christ has the Sun on the left and the Moon on the right. Also, only the circle of Christ is supported by two kneeling angels each holding a large decorative floral plant in one hand. Within the circle, Christ is seated facing, holding the Chalice with the left hand and blessing it with the right. All the disciples are seated sideways bearing simpler vestments. On each side of Christ is a symmetrical floral ornament, with the conventionalized form of a fruit shown cut crosswise. Above the head of Christ is a floral design differing slightly from similarly placed designs over the heads of His disciples. The abbreviated legend in the field is JԻՍ ՔՍ "JESUS CHRIST." It is interesting that throughout the tray, in most cases the letter Յ is represented by the common J (յ), not the capital form Յ, indicating that at the time the tray was made, this was also the accepted capital form. The Bible is

seen outside the circle in the five o'clock position. In addition to the prominence given to Christ in the overall design, it is also significant that the outer legend starts above the figure of Christ.

While the legend in the perimeter must of necessity read from left to right, counterclockwise, the first six disciples are arranged clockwise and the remaining six, counterclockwise.

The first apostle on the right of Christ is Peter (Plate 40), the senior member among the disciples. The legend reads ՍԲ ՊՏՐՍՆ Է "HE IS ST. PETER." The line above ՍԲ indicates the abbreviation of the word "Saint." Two dots above ՊՏՐՍ signify that two vowels are missing. Saint Peter is represented as a bearded man, kneeling left and facing. His forearm is in horizontal position and over his right hand to the left of the thumb is a small circle which it is assumed signifies bread. Over the halo above his head is a symmetrical floral design with leaves. Another floral design fills the space to the right behind the figure. In the left field below the hand is the Bible and a key, since it was Peter who was given the key to heaven.

Next, in clockwise order, is James (Plate 41), the legend reading ՍԲ ՅԿԲՆ Է "HE IS ST. JACOB (JAMES)." There is a line for the abbreviation and two dots for the missing letters. We again see the floral design over the head and to the right of the figure, but the leaves are of a different type. Again, the symbolic holding of the bread and the representation of the Bible are shown. Instead of the key, however, the space is filled with a floral design of a different type from the one on his right. It should be noted that his costume, which at first glance appears to be similar to Peter's, has distinct differences in design.

Philip, the next apostle (Plate 42), is in the same position with a slightly different costume but with the same type of decorations within the circle. The name reads ՍԲ ՓԼՊՍՆԷ "HE IS ST. PHILIP." There are two dots over the name and an abbreviation line as usual.

The legend of St. Bartholomew (Plate 43) reads ՍԲ ԲՐԴՂՄՍՆԷ "HE IS ST. BARTHOLOMEW." Three dots and the abbreviation line are seen as above. Again, except for slight differences such as beard, mustache, and variations in dress, the appearance of the whole circle is similar to the others.

The fifth apostle is James (Plate 44), the son of Alphaeus. The inscription reads ՍԲ ՅԿԲՍ ՅԼՓԵՆԷ "HE IS ST. JAMES (JACOB) ALPHAEUS." The word "Saint" is abbreviated, and there are a total of four dots, one over JACOB and three over ALPHAEUS.

The sixth and last disciple in this order is Judas (Plate 45), the brother of James. The floral design over the halo is similar to that of James but the costume shows some differences from the others. The inscription reads ՍԲ ՅԴԱՅ ՅԿԲԵԱՆԷ "HE IS ST. JUDAS OF JACOB (JAMES)." The word "Saint" is abbreviated as before, with the abbreviation sign showing, but there is only one dot above the word JACOB.

All six disciples are seated or kneeling in the same fashion, to the left and facing. The remaining six are in counterclockwise order, the kneeling figures turned right, and appear to be executed as mirror images of the first six. It is as if the designs given to the workman were for some reason pasted upside down and executed as such. If we accept that as an explanation for the appearance of the mirror image form of the last six disciples, then we must assume that the workman was originally given the design of the first disciples and only after finishing them was he given the others. Otherwise, if he were so ignorant as not to realize which side of the drawing is up and so illiterate that he did not recognize that the legends read left to right, then he would surely have made similar mistakes in one or more of the first six apostles. Another argument against assuming that the mirror image presentation of the last six disciples was due to ignorance is the fact that Judas Iscariot is placed last, indicating some knowledge of Biblical events.

After reaching the sixth disciple in the initial correct order, we must take the seventh from the left of Christ and proceed in counterclockwise order.

The first figure is strikingly different from all the others since he is a young man without a beard. It is John (Plate 46), who we know was much younger than the other disciples. Being a mirror image, the figure is now to the right and facing. All the decorations are again mirror images of the others. The floral design above the halo is similar to that of the second and sixth disciples. The legend reads, in reverse, ՍԲ ՅՀՆՍՆ Է "HE IS ST. JOHN." The word "Saint" is

abbreviated and there are two dots over the name, John. The last two letters are not ligatured.

The eighth apostle (Plate 47) is bearded and a mirror image of the first six, showing minor variations in the design of the costume. The inscription in mirror image is ՍԲ ԱՆԴՐՍՆ Է "HE IS ST. ANDREW." There are no dots over the name. The abbreviation line is over "Saint." Again the last two letters are not ligatured.

The ninth figure (Plate 48) is comparable to the previous one with the usual minor variations. The legend reads in mirror image ՍԲ ԹՈՄԱՍՆ Է "HE IS ST. THOMAS." There are no dots above the legend but three points precede the letter T of THOMAS. The first two and the second two letters are ligatured.

The tenth (Plate 49) disciple is similar to the previous one, but the floral design above the halo is like that of the second, sixth, and seventh ones. The legend reads ՍԲ ՄԱԹՈՍՆ Է "HE IS ST. MATTHEW." There are two dots over the name, and the word "Saint" is abbreviated. The first two and the second two letters are ligatured.

The eleventh is Simeon (Plate 50), similar in many respects to most of the other figures. The legend reads in mirror image ՍԲ ՇՄԱՒՈՆ Է "HE IS ST. SIMEON." "Saint" is abbreviated and there are no dots over the word SIMEON. The second and third letters are ligatured.

The last disciple as would be expected is Judas Iscariot (Plate 51). Although he, too, is in mirror image, there are marked differences from the other disciples. His circle is devoid of ornaments, floral designs or halo. Even the Bible is missing. The dress is presented in simple lines without ornaments. The legend is most revealing, reading ՉԱՐ ՈՒԴԱՆ Է "HE IS EVIL JUDAS." In all other instances, the disciples hold a small circular object, presumably representing bread. In the case of Judas, the forearm is slightly upward instead of horizontal and the round object is larger and solid, possibly representing a coin. The first letter is missing, the second and third are ligatured.

In considering the mirror image presentation of the last six disciples, one other explanation comes to mind. Perhaps by so doing, the craftsman was able to have them look toward Christ instead of

away from Him. The clockwise figures of course are looking toward Christ.

The order of disciples does not follow any of the sequences found in the New Testament (Matthew 10:1, Mark 3:13, Luke 6:13) but this is not surprising since there is no established order in these references. Nevertheless, on the tray as in the New Testament, Peter is always first and Judas Iscariot is last.

Between the circles containing Christ and His twelve disciples, one sees a conventionalized form of a tree and near the top, two birds facing each other. The tree is probably a cypress, and the decorative birds have long been used in both manuscript ornamentations and in architectural forms. The eleven ornaments are quite uniform and the slight differences are seen only after a more critical examination. The twelfth and thirteenth spaces are taken by the angels supporting the circle of Christ.

Directly over each circle of the apostles is a small circle containing a cross, except the one belonging to Judas Iscariot which is devoid of the cross and its circle.

Above the disciples' circles are two twelve-sided stars, containing the emblem of immortality. The stars above Judas Iscariot are also twelve sided but they contain a solid circle, perhaps signifying darkness or representing a coin.

The next circular row of decorations represents a table setting. Again, the first six are in correct order while the last six are mirror images.

The table setting of Christ is quite different. There is a large plate immediately below Christ containing a decorative fruit (pomegranate?) with the stalk two leaves of the fruit, and its vertical cross section. Below it is a large figure of a lamb seated, and immediately below, two symmetrical floral ornaments. Three small circles with a simple cross fill the remaining space on the plate. To the left of the plate is a smaller plate containing small loaves of bread (?). It is for some reason divided into two with a double line. Below this plate to the left is a two-pronged fork (which of course had not been invented at the time of the Last Supper) and a wooden handled knife to the right. To the right of the large plate is a wine decanter, larger and more ornate than the decanters of the apostles.

The plates are all of uniform design and exhibit only minor differences in appearance. Each plate has a decorative edge and contains four small circles. Two of them, in two and eight o'clock positions, have a cross and are very similar to the circles above the disciples. The other two, in four and ten o'clock positions, show the design of a horizontally cut fruit or flower. In the center of the plate is the emblem of immortality without a circular border. It is very curious that while the other ornaments around the plates are in one order with the first six disciples and in mirror image with the last six, there is no such confusion with the plates—all twelve are in the same order.

To the upper left of the plate is a smaller plate which is filled with a design of small circles touching each other. This design repeats itself with the third, fifth (imperfectly drawn), and sixth disciples; then beginning with James in counterclockwise direction, the seventh, eight, ninth, and eleventh. The design in the second, fourth, seventh, tenth, and twelfth plates is the wheel of immortality. It appears that these plates were not drawn with an order in mind.

Under the small plates to the left are a two-pronged fork and a knife. Both have wooden handles and are much simpler in design than the ones belonging to Christ. The handle designs are all somewhat different. The last six plates are in mirror image form so that the small plate is to the right and below it, the fork on the right and the knife to the left.

The wine decanter of the first six disciples is to the right of the plate. It is covered and the handle is to the right. The body is ornamented with the wheel of immortality. All the decanters are very much alike. The next five are mirror images of the first six, being to the left of the plate, with the handles on the left also. Curiously enough, in the case of Judas, while the decanter is on the left of the plate, it is facing in the opposite direction, the handle being to the right.

There is a small design under each one of the large plates, and in this design, all thirteen face the same direction. The one under the plate of Christ is smaller because of lack of space.

The next row of decorations are made up of thirteen vases, all decorated, but containing different flowers. Since the flowers are in

decorative form, it would be impossible to identify them. Between each vase, there is a conventionalized plant with stem, four leaves and a flower. The design is bordered within an artistic form, and all thirteen are similar.

We now come to the center decoration. It is bordered with a line formed with triangles touching one another. Next to this border there is a space of one inch followed by a wide band bearing the legend (Plate 52).

As in the case of the outer border legend, the writing begins directly beneath the figure of Christ and starts with a cross. The sentences ending and beginning with a star are bordered with a circle. Reading again in counterclockwise fashion, we notice the abbreviation signs over the letters ԴՊ of ՎՐԴՊՏԻՆ. However, there is no abbreviation sign over the first word ՅԻՇՏԿԷ where there are letters missing. The abbreviated word ՍԲ is noted with a line. It is interesting that there is an ornate long line over the whole word ԿԹՂԿՍԻՆ. Following this is the abbreviation sign over ՍԲ which repeats itself in the same sentence. At the end, three short lines indicate missing letters in the last two words. The legend read as follows:

THIS TABLE IS A MEMORIAL TO DOCTOR ELIJA
OF KILIS GIVEN TO THE HOLY SEE
OF THE ENLIGHTENER AT SIS
IN THE DAYS OF LUCAS THE KEEPER OF THE (RELIC) OF
THE RIGHT HAND (OF THE ENLIGHTENER) THE CATHOLI-
COS THE RENOVATOR OF THE HOLY SEE WHO REPAIRED
THE HOLY HOUSE COMPLETELY FROM THE FOUNDATION
UP

ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿ Է ՍԵՆԻ ՍԵՂԱՆՍ ՔԻԼԻՍՑԻ ԵՂԻԱՑ ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏԻՆ
Ի ԴՈԻՌՍ ՍԸՍԱՑ ՍԲ ԼՈԻՍԱԻՈՐՉԱՑ ԱԹՈՌԻՆ
Ի ՅԱԻՈԻՐԸՍ ՅԱՋԲԱՆ ՂՈԻԿԱՍ ԿԱԹՈՂԻԿՈՍԻՆ
ՋՍԲ ՅԱԹՈՌՆ ՆՈՐՈԳՈՂԻՆ ՈՐ ՋՍԲ ՏՈԻՆՆ Ի ՀԻՄԱՆ ՆՈՐՈԳԵՑ
ԲՈԼՈՐՈՎԻՆ

Next to the legend is a highly decorative circle of clover leaves, contributing a lacy effect to the central design. This is followed by four concentric lines, the two outer ones and the inner ones being separated from each other with a relatively wide space. Next to the lines is another decorative circle, this time with a straightened S shape which repeats itself around the circle, again giving the center decoration a lacy effect. Three other lines follow this, finally leading to the center decoration.

Here one sees a very decorative cross which occupies most of the space. The four arms of the cross contain the abbreviated words Տր, ԱԾ, ՅՍ, ՔՍ each word having an abbreviation line above it. As in previously mentioned writings, one reads the words by standing at the edge of the tray and facing it. In effect, in all cases the center of the tray constitutes the top of the writing. It is interesting that the first word starts directly in line with the beginning of the other two legends. Four simplified forms of cypress trees fill the void between the arms of the crosses. At the center, the arms of the crosses rest on a modified square. The space between the arms of the cross is hammered in to bring the cross design into relief. Two concentric lines cut the lower part of the arms of the cross, possibly in order to lighten the massive effect of the decoration.

The entire tray is in an excellent state of preservation, except for a number of marks apparently made by an axe with a view to disfiguring or destroying it. The photographs also show some of the light scratches and dents made into the surface of this otherwise beautiful tray.[7]

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[7] Originally published in *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, New Series, Vol. X (1973-1974), pp. 247-259, pls. XXXVII-LIV.

ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ՍԿԻՀ ՄԸ

(*Տախտակ* 56)

Տասնեակ տարիներ առաջ, հեղինակին ձեռքը անցաւ հայկական արծաթեայ սկիհ մը՝ որ արժանի է ուսումնասիրութեան։ Ներկայիս ան կը գտնուի Պոստոնի Armenian Library and Museum of America *թանգարանին մէջ։*

Հազարաւոր սկիհներ գործածուած են հայ եկեղեցիներու մէջ։ Անոնցմէ ոմանք, անշուշտ, ունէին որոշ գեղարուեստական արժէք, սակայն շատ քիչեր արժանացած են տպագրութեան։

Օրինակի համար, *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem*[1] *գիրքին մէջ կը տեսնենք երկու գեղեցիկ սկիհներու նկարներ, որոնք շինուած են* 1749*ին։ Ներկայիս անոնք կը գտնուին Երուսաղէմի վանքին գանձատան մէջ։ Յիշատակուած է նաեւ սկիհ մը* *New Julfa*[2] *գիրքին մէջ։ Շատ աւելի փառաւոր սկիհներու նկարներ կը տեսնուին Էջմիածնի Գանձեր*[3] *տպագրութեան մէջ։ ԺԸ. և ԺԹ. դարերու սկիհներու կողքին կը տեսնուի նաեւ հայկական ոճով շինուած շատ գեղեցիկ սկիհ մը, պատրաստուած Էջմիածնի համար,* 1965*ին։*

Թէև վերոյիշեալ սկիհները լաւ պահպանուած և գեղեցիկ են, անոնք կա՛մ զուրկ են որևէ գրութենէ և կամ ունին միայն մէկ տող գրութիւն։

Ներկայ ուսումնասիրութեան առարկայ սկիհը ունի ինը տող գեղեցիկ երկաթագիր գրութիւն։ Սկիհը արծաթեայ է և բաժակին մէջը ոսկեզօծ, թէև ժամանակի ընթացքին ոսկին մասամբ մաշած և անհետացած է։

Յայտնի է որ սկիհը գործն է հայ արուեստագէտ ոսկերիչի մը։ Վարի մասը ունի որոշ հայարուեստ զարդարանքներ, իսկ մէջի գրու-

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[1] *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem*, ed. B. Narkiss (Jerusalem, 1979), էջ 139-140։

[2] John Carswell, *New Julfa* (Oxford, 1968).

[3] *Էջմիածնի Գանձեր* (Էջմիածին, 1984)։

թիւնը՝ ժամանակակից երկաթագրով է, որ հաճոյալիօրէն կը միանայ սկիհին արուեստին հետ։

Վարը կու տանք սկիհին վրայ տեսնուած գրութիւնը, նոյն ատեն տալով ձեռագիր գրութիւն մը՝ որ կը բացատրէ գրաբարի նշանակութիւնը։ Գրութեան անգլերէն թարգմանութիւնը կը տեսնուի յօդուածի վերջաւորութեան, անգլերէն ամփոփման հետ։

ԻԾԱՏԿԷ ՍԿԻՍ ՄԱՂՋՄԱՆ ԳԴԱ
Յիշատակ է սկիհս մաղզման դգա-
ԼԷ ԵՒ ԳՄՊՏ ԽԱՉԷ ՈՐ ԵՆ Ա-
լը եւ Գմբէթ խաչը որ են
ՐԾԱԹԱՅ ԳՈՒՄՈՒԾ
արծաթեայ Գիւմիւշ-
ԽԱՆԱՑՈՑ Ի ՁԵՌՆ
խանացոց, ի ձեռն
ԿՈՌՃԻ ՏՐ ԻՍԱԷԼԻՆ ԱՌ
Կուրճի Տէր Իսրայէլին առ
Ի ԳՈՐԾԱԾԵԼ. ԵՏ ՄԱՀՎԱՆ ԻՒՐՈՅ
ի գործածել. յետ մահուան իւրոյ
ԸՆԴ ԻԾԽԱՆԹԵՆՔ ԽՈՏԸՐՋՈՐՈՅ ՄԵԾ
ընդ իշխանութեամբ Խոտորջրոյ մեծ-
ԱՒՈՐԻՆ Է. ՆԱ ՏԱՑԷ ԱՂՔԱՏ ՔՀԱՆ
աւորին է. նա տացէ աղքատ քահանա-
ԱՒՑ ԳՈՐԾԱԾԵԼՈՅ 1227.
յից գործածելոյ, 1227 (=1812).

Յայտնի է որ այս սկիհը կը պատկանի Խոտրջուրի եկեղեցիին։ Հայկական սովետական հանրագիտարանի մէջ[4] *կը տեսնենք ամբողջ էջ մը՝ նուիրուած Խոտրջուր գիւղին, իր բարբառին և* 1918*ին ինքնապաշտպանութեան մարտերուն։ Ըստ հանրագիտարանին, Խոտրջուրը կը գտնուի Արեւմտեան Հայաստանի, Էրզրումի վիլայէթին, Կիսկիմ գաւառին մէջ։*

Կորճի գիւղը հաւանաբար Տէր Իսրայէլ քահանային ծննդավայրն էր։ Կորճայք նահանգը կը գտնուէր Վանայ լիճին հարաւային կողմը[5]։

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4 *Հայկական սովետական հանրագիտարան, հատոր* 5 (*Երեւան*, 1979), *էջ* 82-83։
5 *Նոյն տեղը, էջ* 658։

Այնպէս կ'երևի թէ ատենօք գործածուած այս սկիհը ունէր դգալ և կափարիչ, զարդարուած խաչով մը։ Ներկայիս գործածուած սկիհները զուրկ են կափարիչէ և դգալէ։

Հեղինակը իր մասնաւոր շնորհակալութիւնները կը յայտնէ հանգուցեալ Արքեպիսկոպոս Տիրան Ներսոյեանին, որ կարդաց և բացատրեց սկիհին դժուարին գրութիւնները[6]*։*

AN ARMENIAN CHALICE

[Summary]

Few of the thousands of chalices used in Armenian churches have survived, and fewer still have found their way into print. This article describes a chalice from the town of Khodorjur, in the province of Erzeroum.

The chalice has a legend inscribed in *grabar* (classical Armenian) as follows:

> A memorial is this chalice, its paten, the spoon
> and the dome-shaped cross mounted with a cross
> made of silver from Gumushkhane
> given by the
> Reverend priest Israel, called the Georgian,
> to be used by him. After his death,
> to be entrusted to the ruler of the region of
> Khodorjur, who shall assign it to the poor priests
> for their use. A.H. 1227 (A.D. 1812).

The chalice, formerly in the collection of the author, is now in the Armenian Library and Museum of America, Watertown, Massachusetts.

6 *Նախնական հրատարակութեան համար տե՛ս Բազմավէպ, հատոր ՃԽԹ.* (1991), *թիւ* 3-4, *էջ* 499-502։

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ARMENIAN TRIPTYCH

(Plates 57-59)

Three-hinged or folding panels, artistically decorated with religious themes, were used as altar pieces since early days of Christendom. These carved or painted works, known as triptychs, often served as receptacles for the remains of saints or other holy objects.

The existence of Armenian triptychs from the Middle Ages to recent times is indicative of their important role in the religious life of the people. It is unfortunate that because of the country's troubled political situation, most of these triptychs have been destroyed. Some of the surviving pieces have been published.

As a rule, Armenian triptychs were fashioned in silver and sometimes gilded. Although the technique of enamel decoration was known to Armenian goldsmiths,[1] it was not applied to triptychs. For contrast, one should examine the highly decorative enamel medallions appearing in some early European triptychs.[2]

One of the earliest and finest Armenian triptychs studied is the triptych of Skevra, dated 1293 A.D. (752 of the Armenian era). It is currently in the Leningrad Hermitage Museum. The work was ordered by Bishop Constantine, the Father Superior of the monastery of Skevra, in Cilician Armenia.

The Skevra triptych was first studied by Carrière who transcribed and translated the inscriptions.[3] Two years later, in 1885, Alishan

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[1] *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem*, ed. B. Narkiss (Jerusalem, 1979), pp. 139-143.

[2] W. Voelke, *The Stavelot Triptych* (New York, 1980).

[3] A. Carrière, *Inscriptions d'un reliquaire arménien de la Collections Basilewski,* Mélange Orientaux (Paris, 1883), pp. 169-213.

in his noted treatise, *Sissouan*,[4] provided a full-page photograph of the Skevra triptych and gave the entire text of the dedication. He also made mention of the fact that Constantine referred to the triptych as a reliquary of saints. A most scholarly treatise on the triptych, penned by S. Der Nersessian, appeared in 1964.[5]

Other publications on the subject of Armenian triptychs are noteworthy. In a monograph on the princely Armenian family of the Proshians, Archbishop Hovsepian described in some detail the Eatchi Proshian triptych, dated 1300, and indicated that in artistic scope, it compared favorably with the Skevra piece. The Proshian triptych is in the Museum of the Holy See of Etchmiadzin in Armenia.[6]

Illustrations of both the Skevra and Proshian triptychs appear in Tchobanian's *La Roseraie d'Arménie*[7] published in 1918, and in the third volume of *History of the Armenian People*[8] published in 1976.

The Proshian triptych is described in Arakelian's 1958 work, *Cities and Crafts in Armenia from the Ninth through the Thirteenth Century*,[9] in Abrahamian's volume, *Armenian Jewelry Art* printed in 1983,[10] in *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* published in 1984,[11] and in Der Nersessian's Armenian Art.[12]

Abrahamian shows photographs of two other triptychs[13] in the Etchmiadzin Museum, which he dates sometime between the tenth and twelfth centuries. These are also illustrated in Arakelian's volume[14] and in *Treasures of Etchmiadzin.*[15]

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[4] Fr. Ghewond Alishan, *Sissouan* (Venice, 1885), pp. 107-112 (in Armenian).

[5] S. Der Nersessian, "La Reliquaire de Skevra," *Revue de Etudes Arméniennes*, New Series, Vol. I (1964), pp. 120-147, 16 illustrations.

[6] K. Hovsepian, *Kaghpagiank and Proshiank* (Vagharshapat, Armenia, 1928), pp. 182-200 (in Armenian).

[7] A. Tchobanian, *La Roseraie d'Arménie* (Paris, 1918), pp. XII and 64.

[8] *History of the Armenian People*, Vol. III, ed. B. N. Arakelian (Erevan, 1976), pp. 961-963 (in Armenian).

[9] Babken N. Arakelian, *Cities and Crafts in Armenia from the Ninth through the Thirteenth Century* (Erevan, 1958), pls. XXII and XXIII (in Armenian).

[10] *V. A. Abrahamian, Armenian Jewelry Art* (Erevan, 1983), pl. 28 (in Armenian).

[11] *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* (Etchmiadzin, 1984).

[12] S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (Switzerland, 1984), p. 161.

[13] See above, note 10, Nos. 29 and 33.

[14] See above, note 9, pl. XXI.

The following triptychs are included in *Treasures of Etchmiadzin.*

Reliquary,	Aragadz, St. Nshan, XIII c.
Reliquary,	XV-XVIII c.
Reliquary,	X c., restored in 1101.
Reliquary,	Khotakerats St. Nshan, 1300.
Reliquary,	with relic of Noah's ark, 1698, Kanaker.
Reliquary,	X c., restored in 1143.
Reliquary	of Geghard, 1687.
Reliquary,	XVI-XVIII c.
Reliquary,	XVI c.
Reliquary,	1698.
Reliquary,	1783.

Undoubtedly, other triptychs exist in the Mekhitarist Museums in Venice and Vienna, as well as in Jerusalem, but to the best of the writer's knowledge, they have not been studied or published.

In this article, the author would like to report on an 18th century triptych in his collection. It was purchased at an auction in New York in the mid 1970's. Its provenance is unknown. In 1978 it was exhibited as part of the author's collection of Armenian Metallic Art,[16] has been on public view on several occasions since then, and is now at the Armenian Library and Museum in the Boston area.

It measures 192 x 290 mm when closed and 340 x 390 mm when the wings are open. When closed, the thickness of the triptych is 35 mm. The metal work is silver and the high points are gilded. The whole is enclosed in a hinged wooden box. It is obvious from the inscription that it was presented to the church in Chamek, a town in Asia Minor, in the year 1743.

The center panel of the triptych is most interesting. Almighty God is represented in the upper part of the panel, above the clouds and with arms spread, rays radiating below the clouds. Behind His head is the Holy Triangle. Below the clouds, the whole field is taken by a large Calvary cross supported by two kneeling angels. The stem and base of the cross are decorated with three-leaf and floral designs,

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[15] See above, note 11.

[16] Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Thirty Centuries of Armenian Metal Art* (New York, 1978).

with the field areas cut out. The upper part of the cross consists of a highly decorative crosslet, with the center cross and four arms cut out. It is quite possible that when the triptych was made, semi-precious stones embedded in metal supports were in the cut-out areas.

Both the panel and the wings bear inscriptions in highly artistic lettering. In all cases, where an inscription appears, the area has been polished and smoothed, and the field hammered to expose polished forms of lettering.

Adjacent to the arms of the cross and the center cross one sees inscriptions, for the most part abbreviated, as follows:

Upper arm:	ՆԻԿՈՂՈՍ ՀԱՅՐԱՊԵՏ (Father Nicholas)
Center cross:	ԿԵՆԱՑ ՓԱՅՏ (Wood of Life, i.e. Bones)
Left arm:	ԿԱՐԱՊԵՏ (Garabed)
Right arm:	ՄԾԲՆԱՅԻ ՀԱՅՐԱՊԵՏ (Of the city of Medsbin)
Lower arm:	ԻԳՆԱԴԻՈՍ ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾԱՋԳԵԱՅ (Ignatius, of the Godly nation)

The left wing is decorated with the standing figure of Saint Peter, facing slightly to the right, and the inscription ՍԲ ԱՌԱՔԵԱԼՆ ՊԵՏՐՈՍ ("The Disciple St. Peter") in the upper portion of the halo. He is dressed in flowing robes and is standing barefoot. In his right hand is a large key which extends over his right shoulder. He holds a book in his left hand. Beneath his feet, in a polished rectangle, appear four lines of inscriptions, again in abbreviated form:

ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿ Է ԹՈՎՄԱՍԵԱՆՑ ՍԲ ՆՇԱՆԱ ՉԱՄԵՔԵՑԻ
ԽԱՉԱՏՈՒՐ ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏԻՆ ՀՕՐՆ ԻՄՈՅ ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾԱՏՈՒՐԻՆ
ԵՒ ՄՕՐՆ ԻՄՈՅ ՍԱՌԱՅԻՆ ՈՐՔԱՆ ԿԵՆԴԱՆԻ
("In memory of the Tomasian family, of the Church St. Nshan, in the village of Chamek, of the Vartapet Khachatour, of my father Asdouadsadour and my mother Sarah. (I will enjoy them) as long as I am alive").

The right wing is likewise decorated with a standing bearded figure, this time representing St. Paul, facing slightly left, and holding

a long sword in his left hand. In his right hand he holds a book. The upper left part of the halo bears the inscription ՍԲ ԱՌԱՔԵԱԼՆ ՊՈՂՈՍ ("The Holy Disciple St. Paul"). His bare feet are seen below the flowing costume. Underneath, in a polished rectangle, are three lines of inscriptions, a continuation of the writings on the left wing, reading:

ԼԻՆԵՄ ԵՍ ՎԱՅԵԼԵՄ ԵՒ ՅՈՐԺԱՄ ՄԵՌԱՆ
ԻՄ ՉԱՄԵԳՈՒ ՍՈՒՐԲ ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾԱԾՆԻ ԱՆԱՊԱՏ
ԻՆ ՎԱԽ ՄԸ ԼԻՆԻ ՌՃՂԲ ԹՎԻՆ

("I will enjoy it and upon my death, it is to be a gift to my St. Asdouadsadsin Monastery of Chamek.[17] Of the year 1193 (1743 A.D.").[18]

When the hinged wings are closed, they are joined with a clasp. Both wings are covered with cloth and decorative crosses are attached to the wings. The left cross, of the Calvary type, is ornamented with the figure of a saintly woman in a pious gesture (the Virgin Mary?). At the foot of the cross is the coiled form of a serpent.

On the right wing is a similar cross with the figure of the crucified Christ. The carved figure of a cherub is at the base of the cross.

The triptych of Chamek is a beautifully executed example of early 18th century craft portraying the evolution of religious art in Armenia. Hopefully other examples extant will appear in print.

Acknowledgment

The author is deeply grateful to His Grace, the late Archbishop Nersoyan, who carefully examined the triptych, read and translated the inscriptions, and interpreted the difficult passages.[19]

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[17] The word *վախ* or *վաղ* has been used with the meaning of gift. Thus see *Գ. Յարութիւն Թ. Տէր Յովհաննեանց, Պատմութիւն Նոր Ջուղայի, Հատոր Ա. (Նոր Ջուղա,* 1880), *էջ* 327; "my vineyard as a gift in memory of my parents" is written *«այգին իմ վաղմ եւ յիշատակ իւր ծնողաց»*.

[18] Editor's Note: 1193 must be a typograpahical error, ՌՃՂԲ = 1192 (1192+551 = 1743).

[19] Originally published in *Bazmavep,* Vol. CXLVIII (1990), Nos. 1-2, pp. 230-233, 2 pls.

A NUMISMATIC PILGRIMAGE

This is the story of a three week trip through Paris, Vienna, Venice, Cannes, Paris, and London in search of material for a book on the *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (1080-1375) which the author has been preparing for some time.

My plane left Idlewild International Airport on the 16th of July, 1958, after an exasperating delay of four hours due to a wildcat strike of plane loaders. The newspapers in New York were carrying headlines about the crisis in Lebanon and the landing of American Marines in Beirut, with the Russians demanding that we "get out or else." My friends optimistically expressed the hope that I would not get stuck in Europe as a result of the international situation. The next afternoon, after an uneventful trip, the plane circled over Paris and landed at the Paris airport.

A good friend, Mr. V. Fringhian, was waiting for me at the airport with his car and chauffeur. Mr. Fringhian, a prominent man in the French business world, and active in Armenian Church affairs, informed me that this same car and chauffeur had been placed at the disposal of His Holiness, Vasken I, the Catholicos of all the Armenians, on his visit to Paris several years ago. I felt highly honored and was assured that riding in the seat occupied by His Holiness would surely bring success to my mission of gathering numismatic material.

I had visited Paris just five years ago. It now seemed much more prosperous, the people were better dressed and certainly more cheerful. Whereas five years ago the effects of the war were still noticeable in all phases of life, these now seemed to be absent and the French seemed little concerned with the happenings in the Near

East. They had their own troubles in Algeria and laid part of the blame for their difficulties on our short-sighted policies. In any case, Paris was alive and gay and fast regaining its former role of artistic and cultural leadership. "Joie de vivre" seemed more important than the pursuit of money.

Paris Coins

My numismatic activities began by a visit to the Musée des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale which houses three collections of Roupenian coins. Ignoring the fact that activities usually begin at 10 a.m., I was there before 9:30. Thanks to letters written by Dr. G. C. Miles, chief curator of the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, I was accorded a cordial reception and the Armenian coins were placed at my disposal for examination. Some seventy-five years ago, a famous French numismatist, Gustave Schlumberger, actively collected Armenian coins and made important contributions to its study. The Schlumberger collection, one of the best of its kind in the world, numbers some 400 coins, and was donated to the Musée de Médailles. The other collections in the Musée, the Compte de Vigne's and the Bibliothèque Nationale's, bring the total number of Roupenian coins to 600. Included in these collections are some rare pieces, e.g., a copper coin of Prince Levon II, who later became the first crowned king of Cilician Armenia. Two of his gold coins are also found in this collection.

Arrangements were made with the Musée de Médailles to send me the plaster casts of the entire collection at a nominal fee.

The second day, I paid a visit to a very charming Armenian lady, Mrs. N. Kapamadji, who is a well recognized numismatist and coin dealer. I had previously corresponded with her and on my visit asked her to permit me to take impressions (rubbings) of her collection of Armenian coins. She very kindly consented, and I returned to my hotel feeling that at least in Paris my mission was successful. Upon returning to my hotel, I had a phone call from Mr. Fringhian asking me to have dinner with him and his Grace, Bishop Manookian, who is the spiritual leader of Armenians in Western Europe.

His Grace is a capable and diplomatic person who has managed to keep the unity of the Armenian Church intact in these stormy times. The Armenian Church in Paris is indeed a beautiful edifice. It was built in the center of Paris about fifty years ago by Mantasheff, the Armenian Rockefeller, who had extensive holdings in the Caucasian oil fields. It is said that Mantasheff sent a good architect to Armenia to study Armenian architecture in its native surroundings. The result was a gem of Armenian architecture right in the heart of Paris.

Both His Grace and Mr. Fringhian took steps to enable me to examine the collection of Armenian coins in the Nubarian library in Paris. This library is a foundation established by Nubar Pasha as a cultural center for Armenian students and the public. It also houses the AGBU offices in Paris. It has a fine collection of books and periodicals as well as some valuable archives. Mr. Salmasian who is in charge of the library, showed me their catalogue of coins. Though this collection numbers less than fifty, it contains a copper coin of Prince Levon II, donated by the late Karekin Catholicos of Cilicia, of which there are only a few in existence. On my previous visit to Paris, I had discovered a cousin, Mr. Vahan Zorayan, a chemist like myself, and we spent a week-end together visiting Versailles and other places. This time we planned to go to Chartres, the magnificent cathedral not far from Paris, which probably has the most beautiful ancient stained glass windows in the world. The whole town around the cathedral is saturated with medieval beauty and charm. The French are justly proud of their many antiquities. We also had the opportunity of visiting the Chateau de Vincennes in Paris, a tremendous group of buildings, with a fortress which served as the royal residence in the old days.

Vienna Culture

My next objective was the Mekhitarist Monastery in Vienna. This branch of the Mekhitarist Order separated from the Venice Order in 1773, and became established in Vienna in 1811 by royal decree. It has since become a veritable beehive of activity and has fostered the

publication of numerous books dealing with Armenian history, language, culture, etc. It has a magnificent collection of Armenian books and periodicals. Many of these periodicals were carefully wrapped up and placed in piles awaiting an opportunity to be bound and combined in the main library. I was told that financial reasons prevented the completion of this task. Nowhere outside of Soviet Armenia is there such a complete collection of Armenian books and periodicals, and it is up to Armenians throughout the world to see that this treasure house does not lose its usefulness through lack of funds. It should be recalled that Vienna suffered a great deal during the World War II, a suffering shared by our Mekhitarian Vank in Vienna. As evidenced by plaques in the institution, Armenian philanthropists, whether belonging to the national church or not, have often contributed so that this unique Armenian institution can continue its work.

The Mekhitarist Vank in Vienna was my main objective since it houses the largest collection of Armenian coins in the world, numbering about 3200. Just a hundred years ago, one of its members, Father C. Sibilian, developed an intense interest in the study of Armenian coins and journeyed to all parts of historic Armenia, including Cilicia, with a view to collecting and studying Armenian coins. He had very keen and searching mind, and became a recognized authority on Armenian coinage. Father Sibilian wrote a book on the classification of Roupenian coins in 1877 which was published by the Vienna Mekhitarists in 1892. Unfortunately, Father Sibilian died in 1878 as a result of an illness contracted during his travels. He was truly a martyr in the cause of Armenian history and numismatics. Needless to say, it was largely through his efforts that Vienna boasts today of such a magnificent collection.

On arriving at the Vank in Vienna, I was greeted by one of fathers who conducted me to the Chief Abbot, Archbishop Habozian, whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Worcester, Massachusetts, several years ago. I explained to His Grace that my manuscript had already been unofficially accepted for publication by the American Numismatic Society, and that it was impossible to have a comprehensive treatise on the Roupenian coinage without including the Vienna coins in the corpus of my book. I did not want to keep the fa-

thers from their numerous duties for too long and promised that my work would be finished in three days. Father Habozian kindly permitted this intrusion, and by working almost ten hours a day, I managed to take impressions of the 3200 coins in three days. Another afternoon we spent in making casts of the rare specimens, so that photographs might be taken of these for inclusion in the book. Archbishop Habozian took an afternoon off from his busy schedule and we spent a very pleasant time together discussing the various aspects of Armenian coinage of different periods.

There was enough time left to get acquainted with the fathers and taste their delicious liqueur, called "Mekhitarine," which along with a few others is made according to a secret formula in the monastery. It occurred to me that it might be an excellent idea to import some of this to be sold or served at Armenian gatherings.

The Most Venerable Father Akinian, an Armenologist of the highest order, is still very actively at work, in spite of his advanced age. One must talk to him to feel the flow of knowledge and goodness that comes from a person who has devoted his life to study and Christian living.

Meets Dr. Sanjian

While at the Vank, I noted a scholar seated at one corner of the library pouring over books and periodicals. I was happy to find that the scholar was Dr. Avedis Sanjian, from Harvard, who had just returned from a visit to Armenia and was on an extended tour of study in various Armenian centers. I am sure that he will have many interesting things to relate on his return and I will leave this to him. In the evening, we went for a walk through the city. Though Vienna is no longer the rich and gay city of former days, it is still a beautiful city, and clean. The Viennese are very quiet, proper, and do not have the vivacity of the French and Italians. Everywhere there is evidence of their past glory. A visit to the summer palace of the emperors, a palace which reminds one of Versailles, is ample indication of the tremendous wealth of its former kings. The world wars and the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire have left Vienna only a shell of its former greatness.

The National Museum of Vienna has a small collection of Armenian coins, including an extremely rare silver tram of Gosdantin I of Armenia. This was thought to be the only specimen in existence, but the writer some years ago had the good fortune to discover and acquire two hitherto unknown specimens. I had been so happy with the help given me at the Vienna Mekhitarian Vank that I could not refrain from offering one of my Gosdantin I trams to their Museum. Arrangements were also made to get a cast of the one in the Vienna National Museum for my book.

Venice Vank

The next stop was the Venice Mekhitarian Monastery on the Island of St. Lazare. I took the train from Vienna in the evening, left the magnificent Alps behind in the early morning, and arrived at the Venice station later that morning. I was hoping to finish my work that same day in order to keep up with my schedule. There being no public boat going to St. Lazare until late in the afternoon, I took a gondola instead. The Vank on the Island of St. Lazare is beautiful and imposing. It has ample grounds, thanks to the gradual enlargement of the island at the expense of the surrounding shallow waters. The atmosphere is serene and peaceful and seems far removed from the hustle of the crowded city.

I arrived at an opportune time, when the fathers had just finished lunch and were enjoying a repose. They were having their annual conference, so that over thirty members of their congregation were present from various parts of the world. I asked to see the Chief Abbot, Archbishop Ouloohojian, and was conducted to a pleasant room where he was resting with several members of his order. I was greeted warmly, and on explaining the purpose of my visit—taking impressions of their Armenian coins—he was much interested and granted my request. One of their younger members, Father Movses, who is in charge of the coins, took me to the Library-Museum, where we spent the rest of the day and managed to complete the work. The collection in Venice numbers about 500 pieces. There is also a magnificent collection of Armenian manuscripts, over 2500 of them, containing some specimens of the greatest beauty and rarity. Father Movses was genuinely interested in their books, manu-

scripts, Armenian antiquities, and coins. I have often visited the Morgan Library in New York and admired their collection of books and antiquities. It was gratifying to find that the collections in the Venice and Vienna Mekhitarist Museums overshadow those in many world famous libraries.

There were many visitors in the Vank when I was there—among them two pretty young American girls, one of whom turned out to be a "landsman" (I believe her name was Miss Goshgarian, from Providence) who said, "Wait till I tell the folks back home about this, they won't believe me."

Sights and Smells

The following day I spent walking from island to island in Venice. Yes, although the streets consist of canals, most of the city islands are joined together by bridges, some of them dating back centuries, and all of unbelievable beauty. Built on a number of islands during medieval times when Venice was at the peak of its power and splendor, the city has unrivalled beauty and charm. Even away from the famed St. Mark's Square, on streets no wider than five feet, one sees quaint and charming houses which have stood for centuries. It is said that if a person living in the Middle Ages were brought back to life, he would have no difficulty finding his way through the maze of streets. The canals have their own beauty and one soon forgets the smells of sewage and garbage that periodically assail one's nostrils.

Ever been in a gondola jam? There was a wedding in one of the hotels on the grand canal and the traffic was tied up for six canals.

I took leave of Venice reluctantly and hurried across northern Italy to Cannes, where there is a small but important collection of Armenian coins (unfortunately the owner wishes to remain anonymous). Here again luck was with me and several hundred more rubbings were added to my growing collection.

My field of specialization—perfumes and flavors—inevitably led me to Grasse, the world renowned center of extracting the perfumes of flowers for famous French perfumes. I met some old friends who took me around, as well as a few American perfume chemists spending their vacation in that area.

Traveling north from Cannes, I visited some friends who were cultivators of lavender flowers in France. The countryside is gentle and beautiful and from the hilltops one sees acres and acres of lavender flowers at harvest time. Along the valley, the countryside is studded with old castles which give an air of age-old serenity to the lives of the people.

Returning to Paris, I stayed a short time in order to get rubbings of a collection which I had missed some two weeks earlier. Mr. Albert Ashjian, who possesses a valuable collection of Armenian manuscripts, china, etc. also owns a collection of Armenian coins. Here again I was met with the utmost courtesy and cooperation.

In England

Though I knew that the collections of Armenian coins in the British Museum in London and the Ashmolean in Oxford were small, I felt that it was an opportunity not to be missed and decided to spend a few days in England. Dr. Baker in the Numismatics Division was most cordial, and Mr. Jenkins, his assistant, whom I had met some two years earlier when he was visiting our Numismatic Society in New York, was very cooperative in the work involved and helped me a great deal. As it turned out, this collection numbering about sixty coins, contained a very rare specimen of a quarter double tram of Levon I. For a long time, I had thought I had the only specimen in existence of this coin (formerly in the Kelekian Khan collection). Then a hoard was reported near Antioch, in which there was a single coin of this type. It is now in the Erevan Museum in Armenia along with most of the remainder of this hoard, having been donated by Mr. Armenak Poladian of Beirut. The London specimen, therefore, is the third so far discovered of this type of coin.

My last day was spent in Oxford University, part of the time with Dr. Sutherland whom I had met during his visit to the American Numismatic Society in New York some time ago. Like the British Museum, Oxford has a small collection which I classified. Oxford University is a sprawling mass of various colleges built over many

centuries. Its medieval architecture is at times breathtakingly beautiful. It has an academic atmosphere quite different from American universities. The pace is slower and more attention is given to personal development. Oxford has given many great men to England and the world, and one can begin to understand why on walking around its buildings and courtyards.

Mission accomplished, I took the plane from London in the evening, landed at Shannon some time later and took advantage of the free port to acquire five bottles of excellent liqueurs at a fraction of the price in New York. The night flight was beautiful and in the morning we sighted Newfoundland and came down the coast to New York without stopping.

Wonderful to be back in New York, accompanied by impressions of 5000 Armenian coins. As the saying goes, you don't have to be crazy to be a numismatist, but it helps.[1]

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[1] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. X (1984), No. 2, pp. 13-19; reprinted from *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, Vol. XXVII (Saturday, September 20, 1958), No. 10 (1362), pp. 1, 3, 4, under the title of "A Numismatic Journey of Three Weeks through Europe."

PAUL Z. BEDOUKIAN LECTURE

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Thanks to all of you for being here. I need hardly tell you that this is one of the happiest days of my life. My wife and children and many of you know how earnestly I have worked towards this day. For over 35 years I have been collecting objects created by Armenians throughout their 3000-year history and these objects have given me an insight as to what was important to them, how they lived, and how they worshipped.

From time to time in the course of years, I have organized over a dozen specialized exhibitions in New York, Toronto, Montreal, Boston, Washington, and Detroit, and published illustrated catalogues of the items exhibited.

The first exhibit was on *Armenian Coins and Medals*, followed by exhibits of *Early Printed Armenian Books, Armenian Metal Art, Armenian Woven Art,* and *Armenian Ceramics.*

But this is the first time that everything has come together in a place where all can visit and view objects that will enable them to understand, appreciate, and take pride in our culture, where they will enjoy and actually touch pieces (with care, of course), and hopefully, most hopefully, be stimulated to study some aspects of our heritage.

The days of simply "Haigagan e, badvagan e" are gone. We have entered a more meaningful stage.

Have you ever wondered why we have not had a first-rate Armenian Library and Museum? I have thought about it often, and gone back to World War I for an explanation. That was a time of terrible tragedy for the Armenian people. They were uprooted from their ancestral homeland, lost half their population, and despite

their heroic efforts, lost just about everything else. Political realities caused them to be betrayed by their allies.

The generation after World War I occupied itself with providing the basic necessities for its families. Some people with ability, ambition, and luck managed to make a financial success in spite of their handicaps, but understandably, they had little time for cultural developments.

In the 70 or so years since the genocide, the situation has improved. More and more Armenians are seeking higher education; many have made names for themselves in business, in law, in medicine, art, education, science, and politics. Many have become wealthy. It is estimated that we have over 3000 Armenian millionaires in the United States.

So help is forthcoming. We already have a number of chairs for the advancement of Armenian studies, beginning with Harvard, Columbia and now in various other parts of the U. S. The latest, I believe, is in the University of Connecticut.

From personal experience, I know that many people have Armenian antiquities which they would like to donate to an Armenian museum. On three occasions, important collections of Armenian coins were given to me for a very nominal price, simply because the owners knew that my ultimate goal was the preservation of our heritage. Just this year, I acquired for a modest sum a fabulous Armenian stamp collection which can never be duplicated. Given the right circumstances, we will be generously supported. Of that I am certain.

Let me tell you about one instance which shows how important it is for us to be able to provide the world with information about our achievements.

Several years ago, I visited the Victoria and Albert Museum in London where an Islamic exhibit was being held. In one of the main showcases was a ceramic plate, beautifully executed, showing an Armenian priest, an Armenian inscription, and was dated 1719. But the plaque described the piece as being Turkish. I was outraged. How could this prestigious museum make such an error! But then I realized that the curator was not deliberately misrepresenting the facts. It was not his fault that we had not let the world know

through exhibitions and publications that in the powerful Ottoman Empire the ceramics industry was for the most part in the hands of Armenians. The oldest ceramic piece in the Ottoman Empire is an Armenian ewer, dated 1510, and the second oldest is a pear-shaped bottle, dated 1529, which is also inscribed in Armenian. They cannot be attributed to Turks just because they were made in the Ottoman Empire. In that empire were millets or nationalities, recognized as distinct and separate cultures, such as Greek, Bulgarian, Armenian. So legally, in the case of the plate in the British Museum, the attribution has to be Armenian, and the only reason it was not correctly identified is that the information was not available. If we don't blow our own horn, nobody is going to do it for us.

We must give our young people the tools so that they can do the job. Museums and traveling exhibitions will be infinitely helpful. Incidentally, may I say here that my American friends assure me that once we get a viable Museum and Library functioning, support will come not only from Armenians but from non-Armenians who believe in the value of ethnic museums.

Boston is a strong cultural center for Armenians in America. It is fitting that it have an Armenian center to satisfy the needs of scholars. Students who are getting their doctorates in Armenian studies are often limited to manuscripts for source material for their researches. But there are so many other areas which need to be investigated.

Let us take coins, for example. When I started collecting Armenian coins over 30 years ago, the only publication available for study was a small book written in Armenian in 1850 and published in 1892. It was written by Father Sibilian of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna. We now call him the father of Armenian numismatics. Few people knew about Armenian coins because no other significant books appeared on the subject for 100 years. In 1962, the American Numismatic Society in New York published my first book on the *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, and lo and behold, tens of thousands of Armenian coins surfaced. Coin dealers began including them in their catalogues, and Armenian coins became a part of Western culture. An Armenian Numismatic Society was founded in California which among other functions, publishes a

quarterly journal. We now have an Armenian Rug Society. The Kimball Art Museum in Texas recently organized an excellent exhibition of Armenian inscribed rugs and issued a most informative and attractive catalogue. The exhibition was shown in different parts of the United States. People are aware today that there are Armenian rugs, that they are beautiful and valuable. There are written documents showing that Armenians have been weaving rugs from the earliest times.

How about looking into other areas of our culture? I know of no serious study on Armenian metal art. Recently I suggested to Professor Avedis Sanjian of UCLA that students should be encouraged to get their degrees in subjects other than Armenian manuscripts—or that articles should be written on metal arts or ceramics, etc. He wrote back that it was a great idea, but that he knew of no one who could do this because of lack of source material. This could be another function of the Armenian Library and Museum. For millennia, Armenians were fantastic metal workers, if for no other reason than that Armenia is a mountainous country rich in stone and minerals—so the inhabitants became highly proficient in metalworking and stone cutting. Look closely at the Urartuan artifacts. Urartuans were the early Armenians. Their work, 3000 years old, is so delicate and artistic.

No doubt you saw the 250 year old large tray downstairs. It is truly a work of art and also portrays the religious spirit of our people.

How about the daggers, all hand made, inscribed? Many an Armenian peasant in the mountains wore such a dagger in his belt.

The textiles are of special interest... the richly embroidered costumes, towels, the beautiful laces, the religious pieces. Our cultural past is being systematically studied in Armenia.

We need to study it in Diaspora as well, and to make people aware of our contributions—in numismatics, philately, architecture, textiles, the metallic arts and ceramics. We have made our mark, but who knows about it?

Perhaps I should mention that just last week I received an invitation to attend the opening of an Armenian Museum in Paris, funded

by the Nourhan Fringhian Foundation. This is most encouraging news.

I am at present deeply engaged in research on the coinage of the Crusaders. As you know, the Crusaders came to the Holy Land in the eleventh century when the Armenians were establishing themselves in Cilicia. The more I delve into the history of this period, the more convinced I become that had it not been for the assistance of the Armenians, the crusades would have failed. The success of the Crusaders eventually led to the emergence of Europe from the Dark Ages and to the Renaissance. Without the Armenians, the history of Europe and the world may have been quite different. It is interesting to speculate on that.

Knowledge is like buried treasure. Until it is brought to light and cultivated, we cannot claim our role in the advancement of civilization. Museums play a most important part in this endeavor.

In addition, we should strive for a research library of up to 100,000 titles so that our children and their children will be able to carry out their studies and let the world know about us.

It is for this purpose that we are gathered here tonight. I'm 200% with you—100% with my antiquities and 100% with my library.

Thank you.[1]

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[1] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. XIII (1987), No. 3, pp. 28-31; read during the November 2, 1986, Bedoukian exhibition opening at the Armenian Library and Museum of America in Belmont, Massachusetts.

FATHER SIBILIAN AND THE STUDY OF ARMENIAN NUMISMATICS

In his *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*,[1] published in 1962, the author refers to Sibilian as "the father of Armenian numismatics." In the present article, the numismatic studies of earlier scholars are reviewed in order to demonstrate clearly the contributions made by Sibilian to the field of Armenian numismatics.

The earliest mention of a coin bearing Armenian characters was recorded by Tristan in 1644 in his publication on a bilingual coin of Hetoum-Kaikhusrew.[2] Subsequently, du Cange in 1668,[3] Cuperi in 1639,[4] and La Croze in 1739,[5] tried unsuccessfully to read the Armenian legend. In 1872, Adler,[6] having a better specimen, was able to give an accurate description of the Armenian legend of this coin. The first coins with entirely Armenian characters were described in a catalogue of the St. Petersbourg (Leningrad) Museum in 1745.[7] Two coins of Levon I and one of Hetoum-Zabel, with incorrect readings of the inscriptions, appear in this work. Later, Roupenian

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[1] P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962; revised edition, Danbury, Connecticut, 1979; Armenian edition, Vienna, 1963).

[2] J. Tristan de Saint-Amant, *Commentaires historiques, contenans l'histoire générale des empéreurs, impératrices, caesars, et tyrans de l'empire romain* (Paris, 1644), Vol. III, pp. 588-589.

[3] Ch. du F. du Cange, *Histoire de S. Louys* (Paris, 1668), Dissertation XVI, pp. 238-239.

[4] G. Cuperi, *In Lactantium, de mortibus persecutorum notae* (ed. P. Bauldri, Trajecti ad R. 1693). See Migne, *Petrologiae Cursus Completus* (Paris, 1844), Series Prima, Vol. VII, p. 480.

[5] M. V. La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiope, et d'Arménie* (The Hague, 1739), pp. 338-344.

[6] J. G. C. Adler, *Museum Cuficum Borgianum Velitris* (Rome, 1782), Part I, pp. 159-160, pl. XII, No. C.

[7] *Musei Imperialis Petropolitani*, Vol. II (St. Petersbourg, 1745), p. 452.

coins were described by Pembroke and Motgomery in 1746,[8] by Pellerin in 1762,[9] and in a catalogue on coins belonging to the Marquis de Savorgnan.[10]

An attempt was made to write a treatise on Roupenian coins in 1789 by Sestini, who described thirteen coins, two of which were actually Serbian.[11]

It is interesting to investigate the source of Sestini's information. His work describes the collection of Lord Ainsley, the famous English collector. An Armenian publication, *Darapatoum*,[12] states that in the year 1788 Lord Ainsley went to Mekitarist Father G. Indjidjian and showed him some Armenian coins which he wanted deciphered. Father Indjidjian states that it became necessary to make models of the Armenian lettering on the coins so that Sestini could use them in his Italian publication on the collection of Lord Ainsley. It is thus apparent how Father Indjidjian acquired some understanding of Armenian coins.

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw a rising interest in Armenian coinage. Buchon in 1811[13] reported on some Roupenian examples and Brosset published several articles which culminated in the production of a monograph in 1839[14] describing about sixty Roupenian coins mostly in Russian and French collections. The coins were of Levon I, Hetoum-Zabel, Levon II, and Oshin.

Shortly thereafter, in 1843, Kraft[15] also published a work on Roupenian coins in German. Of the 59 coins he covered, 29 belonged to the Royal Museum in Vienna, and 23 were in the collection of

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[8] Thomas Pembroke and C. Montgomery, *Numismata antiqua in tres partes divisa* (London, 1746), Vol. IV, Part 4, pl. XL.

[9] J. Pellerin, *Lettres de l'auteur des recueils de médailles de Rois, de Peuples et de Villes* (Paris, 1770), p. 218.

[10] *ibid.*, pp. 112-147, pl. I, Nos. 6-8.

[11] D. Sestini, *Lettere e Dissertazioni numismatiche, sopra alcune Medaglie rare della Collezione, Ainslieana; Dissertazione sopra alcune Monete Armene dei Principi Rupinensi* (Livorno, 1789), Vol. II, pp. 22-55, pls. I-II.

[12] G. Indjidjian, *Darapatoum* (Venice, 1827), Vol. 7, pp. 239-240.

[13] I. A. C. Buchon, *Recherches et matériaux pour servir à une histoire de la domination Française du XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris, 1811), pp. 403-405.

[14] M. Brosset, *Monographie des monnaies arménienne* (St. Petersbourg, 1839).

[15] A. Kraft, *Jahrbücher der Literatur* (Vienna, 1843), Vol. CIII, pp. 1-29.

Father Timoni. The Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna possessed only seven Roupenian coins at that time. These two publications did much to arouse an awareness among numismatists of Armenian coins and catalogues began listing them. One published in 1855 included six Armenian pieces; another in 1878 listed 39.[16]

The study of Roupenian coins was taken up by the noted French scholar, Victor Langlois. The series of articles which he began in 1850 resulted in the publication of the first relatively comprehensive treatise on Armenian coins, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge*, which appeared in 1855.[17] This book was a standard reference for many years and served to introduce Armenian coins to the Western world. It listed all the known specimens, plus newly discovered ones, and contained chapters on the history of Cilician Armenia and its coinage, and discussions on the design and value of the coins.

Fr. Clement Sibilian was introduced to the study of numismatics during this period. He was born in 1824 and at the age of fourteen joined the Mekhitarists of Vienna. It was fortunate that the Chief Abbot, Fr. A. Azarian, was interested in numismatics and in 1843 had instituted a course of studies on the subject. Sibilian later expressed his gratitude to Azarian for instilling in him the love of numismatics. Fr. Clement made numerous journeys to Asia Minor, to Smyrna, and then to Persia where he remained for twelve years serving the Armenian Catholic community. In 1868, he returned to Constantinople and soon afterward Ottoman Sultan Abdul Aziz, recognizing his talents and knowledge, appointed him Assistant Director of the Constantinople Museum. As an officer of the Ottoman Empire, he was able to travel extensively through Asia Minor in quest of antiquities. It was during these arduous travels that his body weakened. He died in 1878 at the age of 54.[18]

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[16] C. Kunz, *Secondo catalogo di oggetti di numismatica* (Venice, 1855), pp. 57-58, Nos. 427-432.

[17] Victor Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1855).

[18] See the preface by Fr. Kalemkiarian to Sibilian's posthumously published book, *Classification of Roupenian Coins* (Vienna, 1892) (in Armenian); as well as Y. T. Nercessian, "Biography of Fr. Clement Sibilian," in *Essays on Armenian Numis-*

His scholarly life was limited to a scant thirty-three years, but during this period his patriotism and, zeal were so great that at his death both Armenians and Europeans extolled his many virtues, and, above all, his deep knowledge of Armenian numismatics. As the famous French scholar, Gustave Schlumberger, wrote, "Le père Cl. Sibilian, qui connaissait admirablement cette branche de l'archéologie arménienne et qui l'avait etudiée à la fois en patriote fervent et en numismatiste distingué, n'est plus."[19]

Sibilian wrote extensively about his travels, his experiences, his archaeological studies, and above all, his never-ending search for Armenian coins. His numismatic studies were published in the form of articles in German, French, and Armenian. He kept a voluminous diary, which unfortunately was destroyed in the great fire of Constantinople in 1870. It was a catastrophic loss, but because he had been in constant lengthy correspondence with his superiors in Vienna, his letters remain and are a source of valuable historical information.

Sibilian not only enriched the Mekhitarist collection in Vienna but assisted many of the European national museums. In addition, he took great pains to study and classify a number of important private collections and was in touch with outstanding scholars and collectors. It is interesting to glance through some of the letters which Sibilian wrote to his superiors in Vienna.

In one of his earliest, written from New Julfa (Isfahan) on September 7, 1865,[20] he mentions securing coins of Artavasdes, Tiribazus, and Arsames, and as stated before, recognizes the debt he owes to Chief Abbot Azarian. Three years later (June 10, 1868), he was in Constantinople and writes joyfully about finding a coin of Gosdantin struck in Tarsus; he asks his brothers at the Vank ("monastery" in Armenian, i.e. the Mekhitarist Monastery in Vienna) to take good care of this rare coin. The following year, (May 10, 1869), we find him in Marsovan where he found no Armenian coins

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matics in Memory of Father Clement Sibilian on the Centennial of His Death, ANJ, Vol. IV (1978), pp. 11-12.

[19] G. Schlumberger, *Archives de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1881), pp. 675-678.

[20] *Essays on Armenian Numismatics in Memory of Father Clement Sibilian on the Centennial of His Death*, ANJ, Vol. IV (1978), pl. I.

but secured some ancient Greek coins for the Monastery's museum. He mentions that there are many Armenian coins in Constantinople and notes his good fortune in securing fine examples of a double tram of Levon I as well as a bilingual coin of Hetoum.

On February 9, 1870, while in Samsun, he received a coin of Jacob II of Cyprus as a gift from an Armenian. He also states that Mr. Serovbe Alishan, the brother of Father Ghewond Alishan, author of the monumental work *Sissouan*, owned a coin with the legend Roupen, which Sibilian considered a coin of a prince contemporary to Levon I.

In his letter of September 19, 1870, Sibilian writes that the Vienna Imperial Museum has a coin of Gosdantin I and a coronation coin of Levon I (both then lacking in the Mekhitarian collection). The coronation coin referred to was the single lion type, a copy of which Sibilian finally secured in Athens. He complains about the high price he had to pay for a silver tram of Levon II, but considers it a good buy since the Monastery had no coins of this king.

On October 1 of the same year he visited Smyrna, where he found a half double tram of Levon I. He states that someone has a half tram of Levon I which he is anxious to purchase and talks about his efforts to obtain a single lion coronation coin of Levon I belonging to to Lambros of Athens. He concludes his letter by saying that he intends to travel to Cilicia and that he will turn every stone to find an Armenian gold coin.

Sibilian returned to Constantinople early in December 1870; there exist several communications of the period from him. He states that he now has a total of five double trams and will attempt to write an article on these rare pieces before sending them to the Vank.[21] He also reports that Serovbe Alishan has a single lion coin of Levon I. In a hurried letter in mid-December,[22] Sibilian notes the availability of four Roupenian coins and requests permission to sell some of the Greek coins to amass 25 florins for the purchase of these four Armenian coins. It is curious that Alishan is reported to be ignorant of the availability of the coins. A year later (December 10, 1871),

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[21] *ibid.*, pl. III.
[22] *ibid.*, pl. II.

Sibilian writes that Lambros has a beautiful silver of Artavasdes for which he is demanding 1500 francs. He beseeches his superiors not to lose the opportunity of purchasing this rarity.

On February 3, 1872, Sibilian reports on a seal which has Armenian on one side and Greek on the other. He has heard about so many Armenian coins that are for sale that he is at a loss as to how he can manage to pay for them. He concludes his letter by saying that if necessary he will sell his shirt to secure them.

On October 13 of that year, he mentions the purchase of a Tigranes copper on which the king is bearded.

The following year (July 1 and 12, 1873), the first hoard of Roupenian coins was discovered. While constructing the railroad between Smyrna [Iznemid] and Angora, workers came across an earthen pot containing 531 silver coins of Levon I. The hoard was forwarded to the Ottoman Museum in Constantinople. One of the officials picked 50 pieces and sent the balance to the mint to be melted into silver. Hearing this, Sibilian rushed to an Armenian official, Mihran Bey, and arranged to study the entire hoard before all the coins were melted.[23] Finally, Mihran Bey donated 30 pieces from the hoard to Sibilian.

In March, 1876, Sibilian writes of his trip to Cilicia and his visits to its main cities and historical sites. He describes the castles of Lampron, Babaron, etc., and mentions that he is preparing a treatise, in Armenian and in French, on the classification of the Roupenian coins.

This was the same year he was appointed Assistant Director of the Ottoman Museum by the Sultan; as a result he not only had the opportunity of classifying the rich collection of this museum but had the privilege and duty of traveling extensively to various archaeological sites of the Ottoman Empire.

By April 3, 1876, his book was ready for publication and was to include the one thousand specimens in the Vienna Mekhitarist Museum. There were 6 plates illustrating 78 Roupenian coins. He

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[23] For further details see Fr. Gregory Manian, "The Sibilian Letters," *Essays on Armenian Numismatics in Memory of Father Clement Sibilian on the Centennial of His Death*, ANJ, Vol. IV (1978), pp. 19-28, pls. I-III.

recalls the purchase of 52 Hetoum-Zabels in a good state of preservation for one florin each, or ten *kurush*. He also reports the discovery of a hoard of 30 Tigranes tetradrachms.

Sibilian did not live to see the actual publication of his work. On an official trip to Mesopotamia on behalf of the Ottoman Museum, he contracted pneumonia and died in Tigranagert (Diyarbekir) on May 23, 1878. Some years later, an Armenian scholar visiting Sibilian's grave mourned the fact that only a few crude stones piled on top of each other designated the grave of a man who had devoted his life to the study of Armenian antiquities.

It is not difficult to evaluate Sibilian's contribution to the study of Armenian numismatics. Before his time, there was very little inclination on the part of Armenians to study this branch of their history. Only Serovbe Alishan is mentioned as having a collection and some knowledge in this area. Langlois' work, although valuable because it introduced Armenian coins to the West, contained numerous inaccuracies and mistakes, twenty-three of which are pointed out in Sibilian's book. In the preface of his *The Classification of Roupenian Coins*, which was published posthumously in 1892, Sibilian states that he examined no less than 3,000 Roupenian coins and that his classification is based on their study.

Since the appearance of Sibilian's work, much new material has been discovered which enables the student to present a more comprehensive treatise on the coinage of Cilician Armenia; nevertheless, *The Classification of Roupenian Coins* still contains important source material and is of historical value.

In keeping with contemporary usage, Sibilian calls the first king Levon II, rather than Levon I, so that the entire chronology of Levons and Gosdantins is numbered accordingly. He does not attribute any coins to Levon the Usurper, but rather to Levon III. Because of the paucity of specimens, there is some confusion in the descriptions and attributions of the coins of Gosdantin III and IV. Among the coins of the barons of Armenia, only those of Levon II are mentioned. On the whole, however, the book reflects the keen mind and dedicated scholarship of the author.

Sibilian can justifiably be called "the father of Armenian numismatics" and deserves the tribute that is now being accorded him as

a learned scholar, a dedicated patriot, and a person with great love for his fellow men.[24]

ՀԱՅՐ ՍԻՊԻԼԵԱՆ ԵՒ ՀԱՅ ԴՐԱՄԱԳԻՏՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՈՒՍՈՒՄՆԱՍԻՐՈՒԹԻՒՆԸ

[*Ամփոփում*]

Հեղինակը իր Կիլիկեաճ Հայաստաճի դրամճերը գիրքին մէջ կը նշէ թէ Սիպիլեան «հայ դրամագիտութեան հայրը» կրնայ համարուիլ։

Հայաստաւ դրամներու մասին ամենավաղ յիշողութիւնը արձանագրուած է 1644-*ին Թրիսթանի կողմէ Հեթում-Քայխոսրովի երկլեզուեան դրամի մասին։ Տիւ Կանժ՝* 1668-*ին, Քուփերի՝* 1693-*ին, Լա Քրօզ՝* 1793-*ին փորձեցին ընթերցանել հայերէն խորագրութիւնը։ Աշլէր՝* 1782-*ին, կրցաւ տալ այս դրամին նկարագրութիւնը ուղիղ ընթերցումով։ Սեսթինի՝* 1789-*ին փորձեց գրել Ռուբինեան դրամներու մասին օգտուելով Հայր Ինճիճեանէն։ Պուչօնը՝* 1811-*ին տեղեկագրեց Ռուբինեան դրամներու մասին։ Պրոսէն՝* 1839-*ին հրատարակեց գրքոյկ մը Ռուբինեան դրամներու մասին։ Քրաֆթը՝* 1843-*ին արձանագրեց գրութիւն մը։ Ֆրանսացի հայագէտ Վիքթօր Լանգլուա* 1850-*էն վերջ սկսաւ հրատարակել կարեւոր աշխատութիւններ հայ դրամներու մասին։ Ապա իր բոլոր ուսումնասիրութիւնները տպուեցան* Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge *գիրքին մէջ։*

Այս շրջանին էր որ Սիպիլեան ծանօթացաւ դրամագիտութեան Գեր. Ազարեանի շունչին տակ։ Կատարեց բազմաթիւ ճամբորդութիւններ Փոքր Ասիա և Պարսկաստան։ Վերադրաձաւ Կ. Պոլիս 1868-*ին և Սուլթան Ապտիւլ Ազիզի կողմէ նշանակուեցաւ Օսմանեան Թանգարանի երկրորդ վերատեսուչ։ Իբրև կայսրութեան պաշտօնեայ ազատօրէն ճամբորդեց Փոքր Ասիա՝ հնութիւններ հաւաքելու համար։ Այս ճամբորդութեանց ընթացքին իր տկարացած մարմինը չկրցաւ*

[24] Originally published in ANJ, Vol. IV (1978), pp. 29-35.

տօկալ և թանչախտի ալ բռնուելով կնքեց իր կեանքը 23 *Մայիս* 1878-*ին,* 54 *տարեկանին։ Իր նամակներէն տպուած հատուածները, որոնք կը հրատարուին այս յուշամատեանին*[25] *մէջ, մեծ լոյս կը սփռեն իր դրամագիտական անխոնջ ու ժրաջան գործունէութեան մասին։*

Իր մենագրութիւնը պատրաստ էր հրատարակութեան համար 1876-*ին, որ պիտի պարունակէր Վանքի մէկ հազար նմոյշները, պիտի ունենար* 6 *տախտակ՝ պատկերացնելու համար Ռուբինեան դրամները։ Սիպիլեան չկրցաւ տեսնել իր գիրքին հրատարակութիւնը և մահացաւ Տիգրանակերտի մէջ։*

Սիպիլեանէն առաջ շատ քիչ արժէք կը ներկայացնէր հայերու համար ուսումնասիրել իրենց պատմութեան դրամագիտական ճիւղը։ Մի միայն Սերովբէ Ալիշան նկատուած է դրամահաւաք և դրամագէտ։ Լանգլուայի գործը արժէքաւոր է քանի ծանօթացուց հայ դրամները Արևմուտքին։ Միևնոյն ատեն ունի չափազանց շատ անուղղութիւններ և սխալներ, որոնց քսաներեքը Սիպիլեան մատնանշած է։ Սիպիլեան կը յիշէ թէ՝ ինք քննած է 3000 *Ռուբինեան դրամներ. իր ուսումնասիրութիւնը հիմնուած է անոնց վրայ։ Մինչև հիմա* Դասաւորութիւն ռուբենեան դրամոց *գիրքը ունի պատմական արժէք և կը մնայ կարևոր աղբիւր մը հայ դամագիտութեան համար։*

Արդարանալիօրէն Սիպիլեան կրնայ կոչուիլ «Հայ դրամագիտութեան հայրը» և արժանի է այն գովաբանութեան, զոր կ՚ընծայուի իրեն իբրև հմուտ բանասէր, անձնուրաց հայրենասէր և նուիրեալ՝ համայն մարդկութեան։

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[25] *Տե՛ս վերը, ծանօթագրութիւն թիւ* 20։

ԶԱՐԵՀ ՊՏՈՒԿԵԱՆԻ ԵՒ ԱՄԵՐԻԿԱՅԻ ԳՐԱԴԱՐԱՆՆԵՐՈՒ ՀԱՅ ՀՆԱՏԻՊ ԳԻՐՔԵՐՈՒ ՑԱՆԿԸ

(*Տախտակ* 60-61)

Թէև հայ հնատիպ (1512-1700) *գիրքերը բաւական ուսումնասիրուած են, սակայն դեռ կան գրադարաններ, որոնց հնատիպ գիրքերու ցանկը լոյս չէ տեսած։ Յայտնի է որ Ամերիկայի գրադարաններուն մէջ գտնուող հայ հնատիպ գիրքերը մինչև օրս կը մնան անծանօթ։*

Հոս կը ներկայացնենք թէ՛ Պտուկեան հնատիպ գիրքերու ցանկը և թէ կու տանք անունները այն գրադարաններուն՝ ուր կը գտնուին օրինակներ այս գիրքերէն։ Այս տեղեկութիւնը առնուած է Kévorkian*ի «Catalogue des “Incunables” Arméniens»* (1511-1695), Genève, 1986, *գիրքէն, ինչպէս նաև «Հայ Հնատիպ Գրքի Մատենագիտական Ցուցակ»* (1512-1800), *Երևան*, 1963 *տպագրութենէն։*

Նկատելի է որ այս երկու կարևոր ուսումնասիրութիւնները չեն յիշատակած որևէ հայ հնատիպ գիրք որ կը գտնուի Ամերիկայի գրադարաններուն մէջ։

Մենք հոս կը նշենք հեղինակին ծանօթ Ամերիկայի և Եւրոպայի գրադարանները՝ որ ունին հնատիպ հայ գիրքեր, տպուած 1700*էն առաջ։*

Ներկայ ցանկը կը պարունակէ երեք հրատարակութիւններ՝ որոնք անցեալին չեն յիշուած գրականութեան մէջ։

Հետևեալ ցանկին մէջ կու տանք.

1. *Առաջին գծին վրայ գիրքին անունը։*
2. *Երկրորդ գծին վրայ* (K), R. H. Kévorkian*ի «Catalogue des “Incunables” Arméniens»* (1511-1695), Genève, 1986, *գիրքին թիւը և* (H) *«Հայ Հնատիպ Գրքի Մատենագիտական Ցուցակ»* (1512-1800), *Երևան*, 1963, *գիրքին թիւը։*
3. *Երրորդ գծին վրայ Եւրոպայի և Ամերիկայի գրադարանները՝ որոնք ունին այս գիրքը։*

4. *Հեղինակին գրադարանին գիրքը* (PB)։
5. *Հայաստանի գրադարանները որ ունին այս գիրքը*[1]։

ՀԱՄԱՌՕՏԱԳՐՈՒԹԻՒՆՆԵՐ

AP	– Armand Pushman, N.Y.
ARS	– Bibl. de l'Arsenal, France.
BM	– British Museum, London.
BN	– Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
BODL	– Bodleian Library, Oxford.
BRIT	– British Library, London.
GT	– General Theol. Seminary, N.Y.
GULB	– Gulbenkian Library, Jerusalem.
H	– *«Հայ Հնատիպ Գրքի Մատենագիտական Ցուցակ»*, (1512-1800), *Երևան*, 1963.
HL	– Harvard University, Boston.
INALCO	– Univ. of Paris (Sorbon Nouvelle).
K	– R. H. Kévorkian, «*Catalogue des "Incunables" Arméniens*» (1511-1695), Genève, 1986.
MAZ	– Bibliothèque Mazarine.
NL	– Necoberry Library.
NY	– New York Public Library.
OH	– Ouzounian House, N.Y.
PAL	– Bibl. Palatine de Palme, Italy.
PATR	– Library of the Armen. Patriarchate, Istanbul.
UGAB	– Library of Arm. Gen. Ben. Union, Paris.
UT	– Union Theology Library, N.Y.
VAT	– Vatican Library, Rome.
VM	– *Վենետիկի Մխիթարեան Գրադարան*.
WM	– *Վիեննայի Մխիթարեան Գրադարան*.
ZM	– *Զմմառի Վանքի Գրադարան*.
ԱԿԹ	– *Հայկական ՍՍՌ Գիտութիւնների Ակադեմիայի կեդրոնական Գրադարան*.
ԳԱԹ	– *Հայկական ՍՍՌ Գիտութիւնների Ակադեմիայի*

[1] *Նախնական հրատարակութեան համար տե՛ս Բազմավէպ, հատոր ՃԾ*. (1992), *թիւ* 1-4, *էջ* 334-342։

Գրականութեան և Արուեստի Թանգարան։

ՀԳ – *Ա. Միասնիկեանի Պետական Հանրապետական Գրադարան։*

Մ – *Հայկական ՍՍՌ Մեսրոպ Մաշտոցի Հնատիպ գրքերի բաժին։*

ՊԹ – *Հայկական ՍՍՌ Պետական Պատմական Թանգարանի Գրադարան։*

ՊՀ – *Երևանի Պետական Համալսարանի Գրադարան։*

ԳԻՐՔԵՐՈՒ ՑԱՆԿ

1512 ԱՂԹԱՐՔ – *Վենետիկ։*
K2, H5
BN, BO, GU, VM
PB - *Թերի և որոշ էջեր ձեռագիր։*
Մ

1539 AMBROSIUS THESEUS. INTRODUCTIO IN ... Ferrara.
K199, H7
BM, BN, BODL, NL, NY, VM, WM, HL
PB - *Երկու օրինակ, մէկը թերի։*
Մ

1583 L. THURNEISSER. ONOMASTICUM ... Berlin.
K201, H17
BM, BN, HL
PB

1586 M. A. MARSILIUS, HYDRAGIOLOGIA SIUE ... Roma.
K158, H19
BO, MA
PB - *Երեք օրինակներ։*

1621 Ֆ. ՌԻՎՈԼԱ, ԲԱՌԳԻՐՔ ՀԱՅՈՑ – *Միլան.*
K190, H24
AP, BN, VM, BM, BODL, VAT

1630 ԱՌԱԻԵԼ ՊԱՐՁԱԲԱՆՈՒԹԻՒՆ – *Հռոմ.*
K165, H28
BM, BN, BODL, GULB, MA, VAT, VM, WM, HL
PB
Մ, ԳԱԹ

1633 Ֆ. ՌԻՎՈԼԱ, ԲԱՌԱԳԻՐՔ ՀԱՅՈՑ – *Փարիզ.*
K192, H29
BN(3), MAZ, BM, VAT, ZM
PB(2)
Մ, ՀԳ, ՊՀ

1642 ԿԱՐԴԵԱԼ ՍՈՒՐԲ ԽՈՐՀՈՒՐԴ ՊԱՏԱՐԱԳԻ – *Հռոմ.*
K166, H33
BN, MAZ, ARS, BM, BRIT, BODL, UT, OH, HL
PB

1643 ՆԵՐՍԷՍ ԿԱԹՈՂԻԿՈՍ, ՅԻՍՈՒՍ ՈՐԴԻ – *Վենետիկ.*
K13, H37
UGAB, VM, WM, GULB
ՀԳ, Մ, ԳԱԹ, ՊԹ

1650 Կ. ԿԱԼԱՆՈՍ, ՄԻԱԲԱՆՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ – *Հռոմ.*
K169, H43
MAZ, ARS, BRIT, BODL, GULB, VAT, ZM
PB
Մ, ԳԱԹ, ՊՀ

1660 ՅԻՍՈՒՍ ՈՐԴԻ – *Ամսդերտամ.*
K14, H48
WM, VM, BM, GULB, ZM
PB(3)
Մ, ՀԳ, ՊԹ

1661 Կ. ԿԱԼԱՆՈՍ, ՄԻԱԲԱՆՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ – *Հռոմ.*
K171, H49
GT, MAZ, BODL, GULB, VAT, ZM, VM, WM
PB
ՀԳ, Մ, ՊՀ

1664 ՇԱՐԱԿՆՈՑ – *Ամսդերտամ.*
K19, H53
BN, MAZ, MV, WM, PATR, GULB, AP
PB(2)
ՀԳ, Մ, ԳԱԹ, ՊԹ, ԱԿԳ

1665 KEMPIUS, M. DISSERTATIO DE STATU ARMENIAE ECCLESIASTICO ET POLITICO, TAM PRISTINO, QUAM HODIERNO.
56 leaves, 4to, (Jena)
PB [*Ունի հայերէն բառեր*] [18 x 14 cm]

1666 Ո. ԵՐԵՒԱՆՑԻ, ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾԱՇՈՒՆՉ – *Ամստերդամ.*
K21, H56
BN, MAZ, UGAB, MV, WM, PATR, MB, BODL, GULB
PB(3)
ՀԳ, Մ, ԳԱԹ, ՊԹ, ԱԿԳ

1667 ԳԻՐՔ ՍՐԲՈՅՆ ՄԱՇՏՈՑԱՑ ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏԻ – *Ամստերդամ.*
K28, H62
ARS, VM, GULB, VAT
PB
ՀԳ(2), Մ, ՊԹ

1667 ԿԱՐԳԱՒՈՐՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՀԱՍԱՐԱԿԱՑ ԱՂՕԹԻՑ – *Ամստերդամ.*
H61
AP

1668 ԳԻՐՔ ԱՇԽԱՐՀԱՑ ԵՒ ԱՌԱՍՊԵԼԱԲԱՆՈՒԹԵԱՆՑ – *Ամստերդամ.*
K30, H65
VM, WM, INALCO, UGAB, BODL, GULB, ZM
PB
ՀԳ, Մ, ՊԹ, ԳԱԹ, ՊՀ

1668 Ո. ԵՐԵՒԱՆՑԻ, ՆՈՐ ԿՏԱԿԱՐԱՆ – *Ամստերդամ.*
K31, H66
BN, UGAB, VM, WM, BRIT, BODL, GULB
PB
ՀԳ, Մ

1669 Ա. ԴԱՒՐԻԺԵՑԻ, ԳԻՐՔ ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԵԱՆՑ – *Ամստերդամ.*
K32, H69
BN, INALCO, ARS, VM, PATR, BODL, GULB, ZM
PB
ՀԳ, Մ, ԳԱԹ, ՊԹ, ՊՀ

1699[2] ՏՕՆԱՑՈՅՑ ՏԷՐՈՒՆԱԿԱՆ (ԹԵՐԻ) – *Ամստերտամ.*
K33, H(72)
BN, UGAB, VM, WM, BM, GULB, ZM
PB
Մ, ՊԹ

1669 ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՔՐԻՍՏՈՆԷԱԿԱՆ.
K34, H—
VM, WM, GULB, ZM
PB

1673 ALPHABETTUM ARMENUM, (ԱՅԲՈՒԲԵՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ) – *Հռոմ.*
8 *թերթ*, 11 x 17 *սմ.*
PB

1673 ԳԻՐՔ ԺԱՄԱԿԱՐԳՈՒԹԵԱՆ – *Մարսիլիա.*
K38, H28
VM, WM, ZM
PB
Մ

1674 ՅՈՎՀԱՆՆԷՍ ՀՈԼՈՎ. ՋՏՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՀԱՅԿԱԲԱՆՈՒԹԵԱՆ – *Հռոմ.*
K173, H84
BN, VM, WM, BRIT, BODL, GULB, VAT
PB
ՀԳ, Մ, ՊԹ, ՊՀ

1675 Յ. ՀՈԼՈՎ. ՔԵՐԱԿԱՆ. ԼԱԹԻՆ. ՀԱՅԵՐԷՆ – *Հռոմ.*
K178, H89
AP, BN, VM, WM, PAL, BODL, GULB, VAT
PB
ՀԳ, Մ

1675 ԳԻՐՔ ԱՅԲՈՒԲԵՆԻՑ ԵՒ ԿԵՐՊ ՈՒՍԱՆԵԼՈՅ – *Մարսիլիա.*
K43, H92
AP, VM, ZM
Մ

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[2] Ծանօթութիւն խմբագրութեան կողմէ.– *Նախնական տպագրութեան մէջ, Բազմավէպ էջ* 340, 1699 *տպուած է տարուան համար։ Կ'ենթադրենք որ գրաշարական սխալ մըն է և պէտք է ըլլայ* 1669։

1675 ՅՈՎՀԱՆՆԷՍ ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴՆՈՒՊՈԼՍԵՑԻ – *Հռոմ.*
PURITAS HAYGICA SEU GRAMMATICA ARMENICA.
K179, H88
AP, VM, WM, BM, BODL, GULB, VAT
ՀԳ, Մ

1675 ԱՐՀԵՍՏ ՀԱՄԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՆ – *Մարսիլիա.*
K44, H91
INALCO, BM, BN
PB
Մ

1677 ԽՈՐՀՐԴԱՒՈՐ ՊԱՏԱՐԱԳԻՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ – *Հռոմ.*
K180, H102
AP, BN, INALCO, VM, WM, BM, BODL, GULB, VAT, ZM
PB
ՀԳ, Մ

1684 ՀԱՐՑՄՈՒՆՔ ՍՐԲՈՅՆ ԳՐԻԳՈՐԻ ՏԱԹԵՒԱՑԻՈՅՆ
[Տպագրեալ եղեւ ի գործարանում Ջուղայու, ի թուին ՌՃԼԳ]
[*Երկու հին թերթ, մնացեալը կորսուած է*]
PB

1685 ԳԻՐՔ ՍՐԲՈՑ ԱՒԵՏԱՐԱՆԻՆ – *Վենետիկ.*
K148, H129
AP, UGAB, VM, WM, PATR, BM, GULB, ZM
PB
ՀԳ, Մ, ԳԱԹ, ՊԹ, ՊՀ

1685 ՆՈՐԱԳՈՅՆ ԾԱՂԻԿ ՋՕՐՈՒԹԵԱՆՑ – *Վենետիկ.*
K149, H132
BN, VM, WM, GULB
PB
ՀԳ, Մ, ԳԱԹ, ՊԹ

1687 ՊԱՐԶԱԲԱՆՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՀՈԳԵՆՈՒԱԳ ՍԱՂՄՈՍԱՑՆ – *Վենետիկ.*
K84, H144
AP, BN, UGAB, WM, GULB, ZM
PB
ՀԳ, ԳԱԹ

1690 La DICHIARATIONE DELLA LITURGIA ARMENA.
Թարգմանութիւն իտալական Սրբազանի – Վենետիկ.
K151, H151
AP, BN, VM, WM, ZM
PB
Մ

1692 ՇԱՐԱԿՆՈՑ – *Ամսդերտամ.*
PB
ՀԳ, Մ, ՊԹ

1695 ԲԱՌԳԻՐՔ ԼԱՏԻՆԱՑԻՈՑ ԵՒ ՀԱՅՈՑ – *Հռոմ.*
K189, H161
BN, VM, WM, GULB, VAT
PB
Մ, ՀԳ

1698 ԳԻՐՔ ԱՇԽԱՐՀԱՑ ԵՒ ԱՌԱՍՊԵԼԱԲԱՆՈՒԹԵԱՆՑ – *Պոլիս.*
K108, H175
VM, WM
PB
ՀԳ, Մ, ՊԹ

1698 ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾԱՇՈՒՆՉ ՆՈՐ ԿՏԱԿԱՐԱՆ – *Ամսդերտամ.*
K62, H169
BN, INALCO, VM, WM, BM, BODL, GULB, PB(3)
PB
ՀԳ, Մ

1698 ԵՐԵՄԻԱ ՄԵՂՐԵՑԻ, ԲԱՌԳԻՐՔ ՀԱՅՈՑ – *Լիվոռնոյ.*
K105, H172
UGAB, VM, WM, PATR
PB
ՀԳ, Մ, ԳԱԹ, ՊԹ, ՊՀ

1699 ԴՈՒՌՆ ԻՄԱՍՏՈՒԹԵԱՆ – *Ամսդերտամ.*
K64, H177
AP, BN, VM, WM, BODL
ՀԳ, Մ, ԳԱԹ

BOOK REVIEW

MOUSHEGHIAN, Kh. A. *Dramakan Shrjanaṛut'yunĕ Hayastanum* (=The Circulation of Money in Armenia) (Vth Century B.C. to XIVth Century A.D.). Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1983, 351 pp., 21 pls. + 33 pls. of photo enlargements + 1 map (Russian summary pp. 234-262; English summary pp. 263-286).

This is Mousheghian's second major corpus on Armenian coinage and, again, provides much needed information. His first book dealt with the study of a hoard of 373 Hellenistic period coins found in 1945 in the village of Saṛnakunk'. (For a review, see P. Z. Bedoukian, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Ser., Vol. XV, London [1973]).

The present volume discusses the circulation of money in Armenia from the 5th century B.C. to the 14th century A.D. During this two thousand year span, Armenia enjoyed periods of independence as well as centuries of subjugation to its more powerful neighbors. As can be expected then, the money in circulation encompasses not only its own but also that of empires which swept over Armenia. The pity is that historic Armenia is now occupied by Turkey and no significant archaeological work has been carried out in that area since World War I. Consequently, Mousheghian has had to base his studies on hoard discoveries mainly within the borders of the Caucasus. Nevertheless, in his text on the circulation of money, he is dealing with the coinage of historic Armenia and that of its neighboring lands.

The first chapter covers Achaemenid and Hellenistic coins, a number of which have been unearthed in Soviet Armenia and the Caucasus. It also includes the coinage of the Armenian kings of Sophene and that of the Artaxiads of Armenia. Regrettably, since the manuscript was submitted for publication in 1973, it has not included the information given in Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia*, Royal Numismatic Society, *Special Publication*, No. 10, London, 1978 (Armenian transl., Mekhitarist Press, Vienna [1983]).

The second chapter discusses the period of Roman expansion into Armenia and deals for the most part with Roman coins and Roman coins relating to Armenia. The author mentions the various finds of Roman coins in Armenia and the Caucasus and draws conclusions as to their period of circulation in historic Armenia. The preponderance of silver denarii as against the very few gold pieces leads Mousheghian to conclude that during the period of Roman occupation, some silver denarii were struck in Armenia also. Apparently, Parthian coins had only a limited circulation in Armenia at this time.

With the establishment of the Sassanian Empire, the circulation of Roman and Parthian coins was drastically reduced and during the third to fifth century, Sassanian silver drachms were the money of trade in Armenia. Since copper coins were usually struck for local circulation, they are seldom found in Armenian hoards. From his analysis of a large number of Sassanian hoards found in the Caucasus, Mousheghian has drawn certain conclusions as to their circulation in Armenia. Special attention is paid to coins bearing the mint name of Dvin and Nakhijevan. The author is of the opinion that coins bearing the letters ARM in Pahlavi script indicate that they were struck in Armenia. The expansion of the Byzantine Empire towards Armenia is evidenced by the gradual appearance of Byzantine gold coins in hoards of the fifth and sixth centuries.

The fourth chapter deals with the rise of Islam and the gradual replacement of Byzantine and Sassanian coins by coins struck by the Arab Caliphates. Very few Arab-Byzantine coins have been found in Armenia, but eventually, the Umayyad caliphs formed the region of Arminya which included parts of Georgia and Caucasian Albania, and struck numerous coins which bear the inscription ARMINYA. These coins have been extensively studied and Mousheghian devotes no less than 80 pages to the analysis of hoards found in the Caucasus and other parts of the Soviet Union containing such coins. The Abbasid caliphs continued striking coins in Armenia with the legend ARMINYA and in various mints in the territory of Armenia. A total of 71 hoards are mentioned in the study.

The fifth chapter is devoted to money in circulation from the 11th to the 14th century. It is interesting to note that although a half dozen Armenian kingdoms existed during this period, they refrained

from striking coins. The single exception are the coins struck by Kiurikē in the 11th century. Mention is also made of the circulation of Georgian coins in the northeastern parts of Armenia. In the main, however, the money in circulation during these three or four centuries was that of Asiatic tribes from Central Asia who flooded Asia Minor and changed the course of history. These tribes, mostly Seljuks and Mongols with their many tributaries, established themselves in historic Armenia and Asia Minor and issued coins. At least in one instance, a Mongol ruler, Abagha Khan, struck trilingual coins, including Armenian. Many of the coins struck by these newcomers bear the name of the mint cities. A listing of some of the coins struck in Armenia is given, attesting to their wide circulation in Armenia.

The Armenian text is followed by a summary of thirty pages in Russian and twenty pages in English. This is followed by twenty-one pages of bibliography and twenty pages of descriptions of the twenty-one plates (in three languages). The plates are placed at the end of the book, but the 33 plates of photographic enlargements are appropriately placed within the text. The printing is quite good, but the plates leave much to be desired. It appears that the photographs were taken from various publications rather that from the coins themselves.

No mention is made of the Coinage of Cilician Armenia which represents the golden age of Armenian numismatics, with its wealth of coin varieties bearing Armenian inscriptions. It would seem that Mousheghian does not consider Cilician Armenia part of historic Armenia, and apparently, Cilician Armenian coins were not circulated in historic Armenia.

The book represents the considerable research carried out by the author, as witness the nearly 600 references cited in the text. The Russian and English summaries make the volume useful to numismatists and historians throughout the world. The circulation of money in historic Armenia through the ages has been little studied in the past and Mousheghian's volume is a welcome contribution to numismatic studies.[1]

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[1] Originally published in *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, New Series, Vol. XVIII (1984), pp. 605-607.

BOOK REVIEWS

NERCESSIAN, Y. T. *Armenian Numismatic Bibliography and Literature*. Los Angeles: Armenian Numismatic Society, *Special Publication*, No. 3, 1984, 729 pp., 1,349 abstracts. Case bound.

A. Armenians are always being told by their elders to be proud of their history and culture. Although there is ample reason to be proud of our past, only recently have serious efforts begun to present our rich heritage to the world.

Perhaps the most significant advances have been in Armenian numismatics. No aspect of our cultural past has been the subject of so much research and study or been reported so extensively to the western world.

The appearance of *Armenian Numismatic Bibliography and Literature* by Nercessian is a milestone in publications relating to the coinage of Armenia. It should be recognized that most of the literature on our coinage is scattered among hundreds of articles published in many countries and languages. Moreover, these publications often cannot be located even in major libraries, thus making it extremely difficult for anyone to pursue his interest in the study of Armenian numismatics. Until now, no bibliographical work existed to which a student could refer.

Thanks to Nercessian's encyclopedic corpus, this vacuum is filled and the reader may consult it to obtain up-to-date information on any aspect of Armenian numismatics. The book contains no less than 1349 publications which have been abstracted and translated into English and Armenian. Consequently, readers, be they scholars, students, collectors, or dealers, now have ready access to the contents of hundreds of publications.

Armenian Numismatic Bibliography and Literature was published by the Armenian Numismatic Society in Los Angeles in 1984.

The book is divided into three main sections: General References; The Period of Ancient Numismatics, Sixth Century B.C. to Fourth Century A.D.; and The Period of Medieval Numismatics. In addition, it contains an extensive index which facilitates the search for a specific type of information.

The scope and content of Nercessian's book are best illustrated by giving the chapter headings and the number of references cited in each case.

List of Journals and publications consulted	181
Bibliographical references	95
Numismatic references	57
Numismatics in allied fields	31
History as a source of numismatics	95
Coin hoard studies	54
Acquisitions of the State Museum of Armenia	46
Sale and auction catalogues	23
Miscellaneous	42
General numismatic works	16
Ancient Armenian numismatics	54
Period of satraps	50
Orontid dynasty	10
Artaxiad dynasty	129
Roman coins relating to Armenia	81
Armeno-Iranian	14
General works on medieval coins	12
Kiurke coins	13
Coinage of Cilician Armenia	150
Armeno-Byzantine coins	11
Islamic coins struck in Armenia	135
Republic of Armenia	29
Tokens	7
Seals	26
Medals	105
Book reviews	64

Yeghia T. Nercessian, an electronics engineer by profession, deserves congratulations for the completion of this Herculean task

which has taken him ten years and twelve thousand man hours of work, and full credit should also be given to the Armenian Numismatic Society for undertaking the publication of the first comprehensive bibliographical reference work on our coinage.

The volume is a must for all who are interested in our heritage and for libraries serving as research centers for studies of Near Eastern civilizations.[1]

B. The need for a bibliographical treatise on Armenian numismatics has long been felt, and the appearance of Y. T. Nercessian's volume is a most welcome publication which admirably fills this need.

Students of Armenian numismatics have always been faced with the problem of locating and consulting the required sources of information. Publications, mostly in English, Armenian, French, or Russian, are in journals scattered around the world. Many of these journals are not to be found even in major libraries with the result that the student is often discouraged from pursuing his interests. Nercessian's work now makes it possible to gather information and locate the original sources whenever necessary. There is little doubt that this encyclopedic publication will create increasing interest in the study of Armenian numismatics and related subjects.

Nercessian has chosen to encompass a wide scope for his subject matter. His corpus includes not only the coinage of Armenian heads of state but also of other rulers who at one time or other occupied parts of historic Armenia and struck coins. Moreover, it lists articles about coins relating to Armenia, such as Roman coins with the inscription ARMENIA, ARMENIACUS, and so on, as well as the coinage of Byzantine emperors of Armenian ancestry.

All the abstracts are in English and Armenian, giving the book universal appeal to interested researchers. The titles for the most

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[1] Originally published in *Armenian Mirror-Spectator* (2 February 1985), No. 28; ANJ, Vol. XXII (December 1996), No. 4, pp. 77-78; *Armenian Observer*, Vol. XV (6 February 1985), No. 10, p. 2; *Armenian Weekly*, Vol. LIII (26 January 1985), No. 4 (2651), p. 12; *Asbarez*, Vol. LXXVII (Saturday, 2 February 1985), No. 7469, p. 15; *Nor Gyank*, Vol. VII (7 February 1985), No. 7, p. 13.

part are in English, French, Italian, German, Spanish, or Dutch. The Library of Congress transliteration system is used in giving titles of articles published in Armenian, Georgian, Russian, or Arabic. The book is divided as follows:

General References:— Bibliography Sources; Numismatics—Education and Teaching; Numismatics in Allied Fields; History; Hoards; Collections Acquired by the State Museum of Armenian History; Sale and Auction Catalogues; Miscellaneous; General Numismatics and Works Covering Multiple Periods

The Period of Ancient Numismatics, Sixth Century B.C. to Fourth Century A.D.:— General Works; Satraps; Orontids; Artaxiads; Roman Coins and Medallions Relating to Armenia; Armeno-Iranian

The Period of Medieval Numismatics, Fifth to Eighteenth Century:— General Works; Kiurke; Cilician Armenia; Armenian Rulers in the Byzantine Empire; Islamic Coins Struck in the Cities of Historic Armenia

The Republic of Armenia and the Surrounding Years (1918-1924):— Tokens; Seals; Medals; Reviews

Appendixes:— Transliteration Key for Armenian Numismatic Literature; Chronology of Armenian Dynasties; Legends of Artaxiad Coins; Legends of Cilician Armenian Coins

Subject Index

Author Index

The subject index is forty-six pages and the author index of nine pages facilitate the search for a particular source of information. In addition, a glossary of legends found on Armenian coins of the Artaxiad and Cilician Armenian dynasties is included.

The book is certainly a labor of love, and, as the author has stated, is the culmination of twelve thousand man hours of work carried out over a period of ten years. Perhaps some of the less important secondary sources could have been omitted, but it is helpful to have them once and for all in one volume. The Armenian Numismatic

Society is to be congratulated on the publication of this major corpus.[2]

C. The need for a bibliographical treatise on Armenian numismatics has long been felt, and the appearance of Nercessian's volume is a most welcome publication which admirably fills this need. Students of Armenian numismatics have always had great problems in tracking down the required sources of information: relevant articles are scattered through a great variety of journals, many of them difficult to locate and consult since they are not held in major libraries. Nercessian's work will now make this task easier, and it is to be hoped that it will create increasing interest in the field.

The volume covers not only the coinage of Armenian heads of state from the sixth century B.C. to the twentieth century A.D., but also other rulers who occupied parts of historic Armenia and struck coins. It includes articles about coins relating to Armenia (such as Roman coins with legends referring to Armenia) and about the coinage of Byzantine emperors of Armenian ancestry. There are sections on sale and auction catalogues (as well as books, articles, and reviews); tokens, seals, and medals; and hoards. Abstracts are given in English and Armenian; there are full indexes by subject and author, and also glossaries of legends on Artaxiad and Cilician Armenian coins.

The book is certainly a labour of love, the culmination of many hours of work carried out over a period of ten years. Perhaps some of the less important secondary sources could have been omitted, but it is nice to have them once and for all in one volume. The Armenian Numismatic Society is to be congratulated on the publication of this major corpus.[3]

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[2] Originally published in *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, Vol. 2 (1985-1986), pp. 202-203.

[3] Originally published in *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 145 (1985), p. 284.

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INDEX

Abagha Khan (1265-1282), 112, 192, 228, 345
'Abbasids, 201, 204, 344
Abdissares (ca. 212 B.C.), 17, 37, 45, 57, 58, 67
Abdul Aziz, 328, 333
Abelgharib, 89, 172
Abgar, 288
Abgarians, Mesrop T., 12, 32, 71
Abirad, Catholicos G. 101, 186, 250
Abrahamian, A. G., 257, 293
Abrahamian, V. A., 308
Achaemenids, 17, 38-41, 50, 52, 53, 63, 170, 343
Acre, 101, 143, 185, 191-193, 197, 228
Adana, 173, 175-178, 184, 189, 195-197
Adler, C. G. C., 326, 333
Adrianapolis, 282
Adriatic Sea, 282
Agnus Dei, 250, 268
Agopoff, Agop, 274, 280
Aimery (1197-1205, Cyprus), 100, 101
Ain Jalut, 192
Ainsley, 327
Akinian, P. N., 316
Albania, Caucasian, 344
Aleksan, the son of Mahdes of Masse of Anabad, 268, 279
Aleppo, 2, 19, 176, 182, 183, 187, 192, 197, 216, 227
Alex Manoogian, 277, 278
Alexander the Great (336-323 B.C.), 40, 52, 236
Alexius I, Comnenus (1081-1118), Byzantine Empire, 202, 211, 213
Alexius III (1195-1203), Byzantine Empire, 100, 102
Alfonso-Jordan, 212, 214, 216, 217
Alishan, Ghewond, 90, 95, 98, 102, 109, 144, 186, 246, 307, 308, 330
Alishan, Serovbē, 330, 332, 334
aluminum foil impressions, 9, 10, 12, 28, 29, 31, 36, 113, 313, 316, 317, 319
Amalric or Amaury (1163-1174, Jerusalem), 183, 184, 218, 222
Amalric or Aimery Lusignan (1194-1197, Cyprus; 1197-1205, Jerusalem), 189
Amanus Gates, 193
Amanus Mountains, 184
Amaury (1304-1310, Cyprus), 143, 146
American Chemical Society, 7, 25
American Numismatic Society, 8, 10, 12, 14-16, 26, 29, 31-33, 35, 36, 38, 90, 94, 136, 313, 315, 319, 323
Amsterdam, 6, 24, 268, 279, 280
Anahit, 46, 59, 67
Anatolia, 179, 182, 254
Anavarzetsi, Cathilocos Gregory, 146
Anazarpa, 177, 179, 180, 183, 195, 200
Anderson, J. G. C., 79
Andronicus Comnenus, 180, 196
Andronicus Euphorbenus, 183
Andronicus II, Palaeologus (1282-1328), Byzantine emperor, 146, 166
Anets'i Samouel, 147
Angora, 331
Ani, 88, 171, 292
Anissa, 46, 59, 67
Ankara, 135
Antioch, 15, 35, 81, 83, 232, 233, 249, 256, 319
Antioch, Crusader, 14, 33, 102, 170-207, 211, 214, 217-219, 223, 225-228
Antiochus Hierax, 43, 55
Antiochus I Theos (69-34 B.C.), 40, 41, 44, 49, 50, 53, 57, 61-63, 69
Antiochus IV Epiphanes, 44, 56

Antonius, Marcus (43-30 B.C.), 79
Arabs, 201, 232, 233, 239, 344
Araima, 216
Arakelian, Babken N., 291, 292, 308
Ararat Mountain, 41, 53, 272, 274-277, 287, 289
Arbela, battle of, 40, 52
Ardahan, 282
Arga, 213
Ariarathes III of Cappadocia, 43, 55
Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, 47, 60
Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem, 304, 307
Armenia Major, 17, 38, 40-42, 46, 48, 52-54, 58, 61, 170, 172, 198
Armenia, 2, 3, 14, 17, 19, 29, 37-42, 46, 51-54, 59, 61, 79-82, 170, 232-234, 248-254, 286, 287, 289, 291, 305, 315, 316, 324, 343-350
Armenian calendar, 295, 296
Armenian Ceramics, 321
Armenian Church in America, 75th anniversary, 275, 276, 280
Armenian Church, 97, 101, 137, 144, 172, 173, 195, 272, 313, 314
Armenian Coin Hoards, 136
Armenian Coins and Medals, 321
Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), 6, 25, 277-280, 314
Armenian genocide in 1915, 2, 19, 283
Armenian Jewelry Art, 308
Armenian letters, 115, 177, 187, 197, 233, 250, 252, 253, 268-279, 294, 302, 326
Armenian Library and Museum of America, 304, 306, 309, 321, 324
"Armenian Lion," 250
Armenian Numismatic Bibliography and Literature, 16, 36, 94, 286, 346-350
Armenian Numismatic Journal, 16, 36
Armenian Numismatic Society, 1, 15-18, 36-38, 95, 323, 347-350
Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, 82, 86
Armenian Rug Society, 324
Armenian Woven Art, 321
Arminya, 344
Arsaces (ca. 90 B.C.), 47, 60, 68
Arsacids of Armenia, 251
Arsameia, 42, 55
Arsames (ca. 260-228), 17, 37, 329
Arsames I (ca. 240 B.C.), 42, 43, 55, 64
Arsames II (ca. 230 B.C.), 43, 44, 55-57, 65
Arsamosata, 42, 44, 45, 55, 56, 58
Arsuf, 192, 228
Artanes (ca. 110 B.C.), 47, 60, 68
Artavasdes I (160-123 B.C.), 70, 82, 249
Artavasdes II (56-34 B.C.), 71, 73, 76, 77, 79, 85, 329, 331
Artavasdes III (5-2 B.C.), 86
Artaxata, 233, 249
Artaxiad coins, 13-15, 33, 35, 70-87, 233, 249, 288, 343, 350
Artaxiad dynasty family tree, 87
Artaxiad dynasty, 46, 58, 81, 87, 232, 233, 253, 288, 347, 349
Artaxias I (189-160 B.C.), 46, 58, 70, 82, 249
Artaxias II (30-20 B.C.), 70, 79, 85
Ashjian, Albert, 319
Ashmolean Museum, 73, 74, 319
al-Ashraf, 143, 145
Asia Minor, 17, 38, 39, 43, 51, 55, 72, 79, 89, 99, 135, 146, 170-172, 180, 184, 191, 192, 197, 211, 235, 246, 284, 309, 328, 333, 345
Asia, Central, 89, 171, 189, 253, 345
Aslanian, Artin, 10, 29
Assizes of Antioch, 189
Athena, 45, 57, 49, 62, 66, 68
Athens, 330
Augustus, Octavianus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14), 79
Austro-Hungarian Empire, 316
Avarair, 253
Ayas, 112, 113, 115, 194
Ayyūbid, 204
Azarian, Aristakes, 328, 329, 333

Babaron, 184, 331
Babelon, Earnest, 16, 37, 39, 42-46, 49, 51, 54, 56-59, 62
Babelon, Jean, 10, 29
Baghdad, 172, 191

Baghdadlian, 10, 29
Baghras, 185, 187
Bagrat, brother of Kogh Vasil, 173
Bagratids of Armenia, 251
Baibars, 112, 192, 193, 198, 228, 229
Baidu Khan, 146
Baldwin I of Boulogne (1098-1100, Edessa; 1100-1118, Jerusalem), 97, 173-178, 195, 201-205, 213
Baldwin II of Bourcq (1118-1131, Jerusalem), 97, 204, 209, 215
Baldwin II of Le Bourg (1100-1104, 1108-1118, Edessa; 1119-1126, Antioch), 173, 174, 176, 177, 201-209
Baldwin III (1143-1152, 1152-1163, Jerusalem), 176, 177, 181, 182, 196, 214, 216, 221
Baldwin IV (1174-1185, Jerusalem), 97, 181, 218
Baldwin of Marash, 178
Baldwin, M. W., 223, 224
Balian of Ibelin, 218, 222
Balients, Nersēs, 110, 111
Bank Leu AG Zürich, 73, 77
Basil II, Bulgaroktonos (976-1025), Byzantine emperor, 171
Basmadjian, K. J., 7, 25, 90, 95, 98, 109, 111, 149, 167, 171, 241
Bayazid, 282
Bedoukian Research, Inc., 15, 35
Bedoukian, Betty, 6
Bedoukian, Joan, 6
Bedoukian, Kerop, 1, 3, 5, 18, 21, 23
Bedoukian, Robert, 6, 15, 35
Bedoukian, Victoria, 7, 25
Behesni, 145
Beirut, 9, 10, 12, 27, 30, 31, 97, 98, 258, 260-262, 290, 312, 319
Bellinger, A. R., 201
Belly, l'Abbe, 41, 54
Berke Khan, 192
Berlin Museum, 46, 47, 59, 207
Bernard, Patriarch of Antioch, 176
Bertrand of Toulouse (1109-1112, Tripoli), 182, 212-216
Bethlehem, 203
Bibl. de l'Arsenal, France, 336
Bibliothèque Mazarine, 336
Bibliothèque Nationale, 9, 10, 28, 29, 96, 209, 313, 336
Bibl. Palatine de Palme, Italy, 336
biga, 74, 77
bilingual trams, 111, 244, 326, 330, 333
billons (also see deniers), 13, 14, 33, 131, 132, 134, 143, 154, 166, 168, 169, 187, 188, 198
Bissancios Sarracenati d'Arménie, 12, 31
Bissancios Stauratos d'Arménie, 11, 30
Bissancios Stauratos, 162-164
Black Sea, 232
Blau, O., 39, 51, 46, 59
Boase, T. S. R., 110
Bodleian Library, Oxford, 336
Boghos Nubar Pasha, 277, 278, 314
Bohemond I of Taranto (1098-1100, 1103-1104, Antioch), 175-178, 195, 202-209
Bohemond II (1126-1130, Antioch), 177, 178, 202, 204, 206, 208
Bohemond III (1163-1201, Antioch), 181-188, 197, 211, 217, 218, 223, 225
Bohemond III (†1163, Jerusalem), 220
Bohemond III of Tripoli, 223
Bohemond IV (1189-1232, Tripoli; 1213-1232, Antioch), 14, 33, 186-188, 190, 198, 222, 224-227, 231
Bohemond V (1233-1252, Antioch and Tripoli), 191, 198, 226, 227
Bohemond VI (1252-1275, Antioch and Tripoli), 191, 193, 198, 227-229
Bohemond VII (1274-1287, Tripoli), 229, 230
Boston, 291, 309, 321, 323
Bourgey, Emile, 152
Boutin, Serge, 152, 166, 167
Bragana, 181, 185
British Library, London, 319, 336
British Museum Catalogue, 49, 62
British Museum, 10, 29, 319, 323, 336
Brosset, M., 11, 30, 103, 165, 327, 333
Buchon, I. A. C., 327, 333
Bulgaria, 2, 20, 282-284
Bulgarian National Museum, 3, 20
Bush & Co., W. J., 5-7, 23-25
Bykov, A. A., 10, 11, 29, 264

Byzantine coins, 3, 20, 232, 344, 347
Byzantine Empire, 88, 89, 93, 99, 107, 145, 146, 151, 153, 166, 170-201, 204, 218, 233, 239, 254, 344, 348-350

caduceus, winged, 69
Caesarea, 146, 173, 192
Calcutta, Armenian college of, 286-289
Calycadnus River, 100
Canada, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25
Cannes, 312, 318, 319
Cappadocia, 47, 48, 60, 61, 171
Carrière, A., 307
Carswell, John, 304
Caspian Sea, 232
Catalans, commercial privileges of, 194
Catalogue des "Incunables" Arméniens (1511-1695), 335, 336
Caucasus, 263, 343, 344
Central Library, Armenian SSR, Academy of Sciences, 336
Ceylon, 255
chalice, 304-306
Chamchian, Michael, 108, 109
Chamek in Asia Minor, 309-311
Charles of Anjou, 229
Christ, Jesus, 105, 153, 289, 296-303
Cilicia, Holy See of, 294, 295, 302
Cilician Armenia, 2, 3, 11, 19, 89, 91-97, 99, 101, 108-112, 128, 135, 136, 142-146, 150, 152, 165-167, 170-201, 225-230, 234, 235, 238-241, 246, 247, 250, 263, 286, 288, 290, 294, 307, 313, 315, 325, 328, 330, 349
Cilician Armenia, map of, 199
Cilician Armenian coins, 9, 11, 13, 23, 27, 30, 33, 34, 88-169, 234, 235, 238, 239, 247, 249, 250, 252, 263, 312-320, 325-334, 345, 347-350
Cities and Crafts in Armenia, 308
Clark, William, 8, 26
Classification of Roupenian Coins, 264, 332, 334
"A Classification of the Coins of the Artaxiad Dynasty of Armenia," 14, 33
Clement III, Pope, 185
Cleopatra, 79
Coin World, 271
Coinage of Cilician Armenia, 12, 13, 16, 31, 32, 36, 88, 91, 92, 94, 95, 99, 104, 112, 114, 128, 132, 136, 139, 140, 142, 153, 155, 163, 165, 167, 234, 240-246, 263, 312, 323, 326, 333
Coinage of the Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene, 17, 38-69, 234
Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia, 15, 35, 42, 54, 70, 78, 81, 234, 343
colophons, 110
Columbia University, 322
Commagene, 39, 40-54, 58, 61-63, 68, 69, 232
Conrad of Hildesheim, 101
Conrad of Mittelsbach, Archbishop of Mainz, 101, 186, 250
Constantine Baile of Lampron (father of Hetoum I), 189, 190, 198
Constantine IX, Monomachus (1042-1055), Byzantine emperor, 171
Constantine, Father Superior of Skevra Monastery, 308
Constantinople/Istanbul, 2, 3, 5, 20, 23, 100, 137, 146, 150-154, 166, 179, 180, 182, 196, 211, 281, 284, 285, 328-331, 333
Contostaphanus, 182
Copenhagen National Museum, 15, 35
cornucopia, 42, 55, 64, 71, 83
coronation trams, 99-107, 137-139, 141, 152-164, 330
corporation seal, 9, 10, 28, 29
Corycos, 189
Credit Suisse, 78
A Critical Survey of the History of the Armenian People, 109
Croesus of Lydia, 235
Crusade, First, 213
Crusade, Second, 216
Crusade, Third, 97
Crusader coins, 9, 13, 27, 33, 97, 98, 170-231, 325
Crusader East/Latin, 170-231
Crusaders, 97, 112, 143, 144, 166, 167, 170-231, 239, 240, 325
The Crusaders, 11, 30
Cuperi, G., 326, 333

Cyprus, 100, 101, 146, 166, 181, 185, 189, 192, 196, 330
cypress tree, 296, 303

Damascus, 71, 82, 192, 228, 233
Dānishmendids, 175-180, 195, 202, 203
Daphne, 136
Darapatoum, 327
Daremos Novos, 162
Darius, 40, 52
Davt'ian, S., 254
Demirjian, Torkom, 8, 26
deniers (also see billons), 198, 213-215, 219, 220, 224, 226, 227, 229-231
depression years, 4, 5, 22, 23
Der Ghazarian, H., 92, 96
Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, 12, 31, 99, 101, 102, 110, 112, 143, 170, 308
die coinage, 236, 242, 243
Dikran of Bragana, 181
Dingilian, Dikran, 275, 280
Diodores of Sicily, 48, 61
Dioscuri, caps of, 44, 56, 65
Dittenberg, W., 42, 55
Djandjigian, 9, 10, 27, 30
Djemaran, Beirut, 10, 30
Dobrovolsky, I. G., 10, 29, 30
D'Ohsson, 150
Dolevon fortress, 148
Donabedian, Asbed, 12, 13, 31, 32, 96
double trams, 100, 104, 241, 330
Dörner, F. K., 39, 51
drachms, 6, 24, 83, 233, 344
Drazark, 145
Du Cange, Ch. du F., 223, 326, 333
Dvin, 344

eagle, 65, 67, 69, 72, 76, 288
Early Printed Armenian Books, 321, 335-342
Ebeyan, A. A., 13, 33
Eckel, J., 42, 54
Edessa, 144, 172, 174, 176-180, 182, 195, 201-206, 209, 288
Edward I of England, 112, 228, 229
Egypt, 148, 167, 192, 193, 228, 229, 254
Encyclopaedia Britannica (1959), 247, 282
England, 8, 13, 26, 32, 112, 228, 229, 283, 319, 320
Eracles, 100, 223, 224
Erasthenes, 41, 54
Erato (2 B.C. - A.D. 1, 6), 74, 77, 86
Erevan State University Library, 337
Erevan, 11, 30, 73, 278, 319
Erzeroum, 305, 306
Essays on Armenian Numismatics in Memory of Father Clement Sibilian on the Centennial of His Death, 16, 36, 328, 329, 331
Etchmiadzin, Holy See of, 145, 272-274, 276, 277, 279, 285, 292, 304, 308
Euphrates River, 40, 52, 144, 172, 173, 182, 183
Europe, 2, 7, 9, 10, 14, 19, 25, 27, 28, 29, 33, 39, 51, 95, 112, 145, 170, 176, 179, 194, 204, 212, 214, 230, 237, 239, 241, 250, 252, 263, 282, 283, 307, 312, 313, 325, 329, 335

Fabergé, 9, 14, 28, 34
Forty Days of Musa Dagh, 2, 19
France, 2, 9, 10, 19, 28, 29, 191, 193, 198, 200, 211-213, 227, 238, 242, 319
Frederick Barbarossa, 99, 100, 225
Friedlander, J., 46, 47, 59
Fringhian Nourhan Foundation, 325
Fringhian, V., 10, 29, 312-314
Froelich, E., 41, 44, 54, 57
Fulk of Danjou (1131-1143, Jerusalem), 178, 215, 216

Gabriel of Melitene, 89, 172
Gagik II, king of Ani, 88, 93, 171
Galanus, C., 108
Galilee, 175, 203, 217
Garabedian, Yervant, 290, 291
Garabetian, Berj M., 9, 28, 136
Gelnhausen, 100
General Theol. Seminary, N. Y., 336
Genghis Khan, 192
Genoese, commercial privileges of, 194
Georgia, 230, 344, 345
Germany, 1, 18, 240
Gevorkyan, Grigoriy, 278, 280
Ghazan Khan, 146, 150, 153

Il-Ghāzī, 204
God, 92, 96, 98, 106, 132-134, 148, 149, 151, 157-162, 269-271, 303, 309
Godfrey of Bouillon (1099-1100, Jerusalem), 173, 202
Goell, Th., 39, 51
gold coins, 1, 7, 8, 11, 18, 26, 30, 94, 148, 149, 151, 167, 234, 236, 246, 247, 265, 313, 330, 344
Golden Horde of Kipchaks, 192
Goromozol, 89
Gosdantin I (1095-1100), Baron, 88, 91, 96
Gosdantin I (1298-1299), 137, 142, 143, 148-151, 153-155, 163, 167-169, 317
Gosdantin III (1344-1363), 11, 30, 136, 168, 329, 332
Gosdantin IV (1365-1373), 11, 30, 168, 332
Greece, 237, 254, 284
Greek Orthodox Church, 89, 101, 171
Grierson, Philip, 12, 31, 234, 247
gros, 229
Grousset, René, 201, 202, 210, 221, 224
Guevrekian, J., 96, 104, 113, 167
Gulbenkian Library in Jerusalem, 336
Guy de Lusignan (1186-1192, Jerusalem), 97, 218, 219
Guy or Guiton (1342-1344), 136, 168, 169

Habeshian, Haikazn, 167
Habozian, M., Abbot, 11, 31, 315, 316
Hagopian, Victoria (also see Bedoukian, Victoria), 6, 25
Haifa, 192, 228
Hakobian, V. A., 102, 111, 144
half double trams, 100, 103, 104, 330
half-gros, 229
half trams, 113, 123, 124, 165-169, 246, 330
Hamid II of Turkey, 281-283, 285
Hardwicke, M. H., 100
Harim, 183, 196
Harran, 176, 203
Harvard University, 316, 322, 336
Hattin, 219, 223
Havandjian, Miadsin, 13, 32
Hay hnatip grk'i matenagitakan ts'u-ts'ak (1512-1800), 335, 336
head of wheat, 71, 75, 76, 84
Henry of Champagne (1192-1197, Jerusalem), 185, 186, 197
Henry VI (1165-1197) of Holy Roman Empire, 100-102, 107, 186, 240, 241, 250
Heraclea, 173, 185
Heracles, 71, 83
Hermitage Museum, 10, 29, 264, 270, 271, 307
Herodotus, 235
Hetoum I-Zabel, 3, 11, 20, 30, 136, 157, 162-166, 168, 169, 190, 244, 326, 327, 332
Hetoum I (1226-1270), 108, 113, 129, 130, 132, 140, 141, 153, 190-193, 198, 227, 228, 244-246, 330
Hetoum I-Kaikhusrew, 244, 326, 333
Hetoum II (1289-1293, 1295-1296, 1299-1305), 110, 111, 129-134, 137, 143-148, 150-154, 166-168
Hetoum of Lampron, 142, 184
Hetoum of Sasoun, 185
Hetoum the Historian, 223
Heyd, W., 112
Hill, John and Laurita, 211
Hirsch, Jacob, 7, 8, 26
Historical Museum of Armenia in Eravan, 9, 10, 27, 29, 96, 267, 277, 292, 319, 347, 349
Historical Museum of Moscow, 95, 167
History of the Armenian People, 100, 109, 110, 144, 146, 170, 171, 181, 191, 308
Hittites, 40, 52
hoards, 9, 11, 13, 27, 30, 33, 88, 99, 104, 107, 112-127, 135-141, 152-164, 210-231, 331, 344, 347, 349, 350
Holland, 267, 270
Holtzey Fecit, G., 270, 279
Holy Bible, 269, 296-299
Holy Land, 100, 101, 174, 175, 182, 192, 211, 325
Holy Roman Empire, 99-102, 107, 250
Holy Spirit, 268, 274, 296
Holy Triangle, 309

Holzmair, E., 10, 29
Homs, 216, 230
Honigmann, E., 48, 61
Hoosharar, 277
horse, 72, 76, 77, 80, 85
horseman, 43, 55, 64, 65
Hospitallers, 143, 150, 188-190, 218
Hotel de Monnaies, Intstitut National Francais, 272
Hovannes, John, 273, 279
Hovhannes Haroutiun, 269, 279
Hovsepian, Karekin (also see Karekin I Catholicos), 308
Hromkla, 144, 145, 183
Hugh of Antioch, 192
Hulagu, 191, 192, 227, 228
Hugh III (1269-1284, Jerusalem and Cyprus), 229

Iconium, 99, 145, 191
Ilkhanids, 192
India, 263
Indian Ocean, 282
Indjidjian, G., 327, 333
Iran, 12, 32, 257-259, 261, 347, 349
Isaac Comnenus (1184-1191) of Byzantine Empire, 184, 197
Isfahan, 272, 329
Istanbul Archaeological Museum, 149
Italy, 8, 26, 318
Izmirlian, Madteos Patrirarch of Constantinople, 281-285
Iznemid, 135, 331

Jacob II (1464-1473, Cyprus), 330
Jalabert, L., 39, 42, 51, 55
al-Jazari, 144
Jebail, 213
Jebata, 226
Jenkins, G. K., 319
Jerusalem, 82, 86, 97, 98, 150, 174-178, 181-184, 186, 187, 189, 201-204, 209, 211, 213-218, 220-222, 226, 230, 252, 304, 309
Jihan River, 150
John I, Zimisces (969-976), Byzantine emperor, 171
John II, Comnenus (1118-1143), Byzantine emperor, 179, 180, 196
John of Brienne (1210-1225, Jerusalem), 187, 189, 190
John of Ibelin (1160-1236, Jerusalem), 97, 98
Johnson, E. N., 99
Joscelyn I of Courtenay (1119-1131, Edessa), 182, 202
Joscelin II (1131-1150, Edessa), 144, 178-180
Joscelin of Courtnay (after 1174), 218
Judas Iscariot, 298-301
Julfa, 292

Kalemkiarian, Krikoris, 103, 109, 165, 264, 328
Kamborian, Jacob, 291
Kapamadjian, Nadia, 95, 152, 166, 313
Karakorum, 191, 192, 198
Karapetian, M. E., 238
kardezzes, 129-134, 234
Karekin I [Hovsepiantz], Catholicos, 9, 28, 92, 102, 291, 314
Kars, 282
Kassouny, Yervant H., 89
Kelekian, Hagop, 5, 23
Kelekian Khan, 319
Kemal Ataturk, 2, 20
Keran (Kir Anna), Queen, 142
Kerbogha, 174, 175
Kevorkian, Hagop, 291
Kévorkian, Raymond H., 335, 336
Khachikian, L. S., 110
Khapaian, Catholicos Sahak, 167
Khederian, Edouard, 267, 270, 272, 279
Khodorjur, 305, 306
Khorenats'i, Moses, 288
Kilich Arsan, 182, 184
Kimball Art Museum, Texas, 324
Kitbogha, 145, 192
Kiurike II Curopalatus (1048-1100), 8, 26, 233, 345, 347, 349
Kogh Vasil, 172, 173, 176, 177
Komitas Vartabed, 274, 275, 280
Konya, 136
Koumkapou, 284
Kouymjian, Dickran, 16, 36, 99
Kraay, C., 73

Kraft, A., 327, 333
Kubla Khan, 192
Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, 10, 29, 317, 327, 330
Kunz, C., 328
Kurkjian, G. S., 277

La Croze, M. V., 326, 333
Lambros, 330, 331
Lampron, 89, 143, 172, 181, 183, 184, 189, 198, 331
Lang, D. M., 40, 52, 92, 110, 234
Langlois, Victor, 6, 17, 24, 37, 39, 42-45, 51, 54, 56-58, 90, 103, 108, 109, 113, 143, 146, 163, 165, 194, 247, 328, 332-334
Laranda, 99
Last Supper, 300
Latakia, 175, 176, 226, 227
Le Rider, Georges, 10, 29, 47, 60
Lebanon, 10, 11, 29, 30, 200, 290, 312
Leningrad, 10, 29, 307, 326
leonine head, 129, 130, 244
Levon I (1123-1138), Baron, 92, 96, 177-180, 195, 196
Levon II (1187-1198), Baron, 90, 92, 94-98, 108, 152, 185, 186, 197, 234, 240, 241, 313, 314, 332
Levon I (1198-1219), 14, 33, 92, 94, 97, 99-111, 113, 128-130, 132, 135, 136, 139, 142, 147, 148, 151-155, 157, 162-169, 186-191, 197, 198, 234, 240-246, 250, 313, 319, 326, 327, 330-332
Levon II (1270-1289), 108, 111-127, 132, 142, 143, 153-155, 163, 165, 166, 168, 169, 193, 246, 327, 330, 332
Levon III (1301-1307), 132, 140, 141, 154, 155, 163, 164, 167-169, 230, 332
Levon IV (1320-1342), 110, 111, 132, 136, 163-165, 168, 169
Levon the Usurper (1363-1365), 136, 140, 141, 168, 246, 332
Levon V (1374-1375), 108-111, 168, 169
Lhotka, J. F., 219
Library of Armenian General Benevolent Union, Paris, 336
Library of Armenian Patriarchate, Istanbul, 336
Library of Congress transliteration, 349
London, 8, 27, 276, 280, 312, 319, 320, 322
Los Angeles, 15, 346
Louis IX of France, 191, 198, 227, 229
Lydia, 235

MacKenzie, K. M., 265
Magnesia, battle of, 45, 58, 249
al-Makrizi, 145
Malik-Shah of Baghdad, 172, 174
Mamigonian, Vartan, 272-274
Mamistra, 174-176, 178, 180, 183, 184, 195-197
Mamluks of Egypt, 112, 113, 143-145, 148, 150, 167, 191-194, 198, 228, 230
Manandian, Hakob, 41, 53, 109
Manhattan, New York City, 7, 26
Manian, Gregory, 135, 331
Mantasheff, 314
Manuel I, Comnenus (1143-1180), Byzantine emperor, 180-183, 196
Manzikert, 89
Marash, 89, 145, 150, 172-174, 178, 195
Marco Polo, 112, 194
Mardin, 176
Mardikian Museum, 96
Markov, A., 264
marriage medals, 267-271, 279
Marsovan, 329
McGill University, 5, 6, 23, 24
McIntyre, Edwin P., 290
Medallic Art Co., 274, 278
medals, 265, 267-289, 347, 349, 350
Medieval Armenian Coins, 14, 34
Mediterranean lands, 108, 236, 246, 255
Mediterranean Sea, 174, 232, 283
Mekhitarian Library in Venice, 336
Mekhitarian Library in Vienna, 336
Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice, 136, 257, 267, 314, 317
Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna, 10, 11, 14, 15, 29, 31, 34, 36, 81, 103, 107, 267, 314, 315, 317, 323, 329, 343
Mekhitarist Museum in Venice, 96, 149, 255, 262, 265, 269, 309, 318
Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna, 10, 29, 96, 99, 103, 165, 166, 255, 262, 269,

309, 317, 318, 328-331
Melitene, 48, 61, 89, 172, 175, 195
Mesopotamia, 191, 251, 254, 332
Mesrob, Kevork, 2, 3, 20, 21
Mesrobian College, 2, 3, 20
Mesrop Mashtots' Early Printed Book Section of Armenian SSR, 337
Metcalf, D. M., 15, 35, 189, 210, 223, 224
Miasnikian Library, 11, 30, 337
Michael IX of Byzantium, 137, 143, 146, 151, 166
Micheal the Syrian, 102
Migne, 326
Mihran Bey, 331
Mihran, M., 3, 20
Miles, George, C., 10, 12, 29, 31, 313
Mionet, T. E., 42, 54
Mithridates I Callinicus (96-70 B.C.), 48, 49, 61, 62, 68, 69
Mleh (1168-1175), Baron, 92, 96, 180, 183, 184, 196
Monastras of Byzantine Empire, 176, 195
Mongke, Great Khan, 191, 192, 198
Mongols, 112, 113, 143-146, 150, 191-193, 198, 227-230, 233, 253, 345
Montferrant, 216
Montgomery, C., 327
Montpelliers commercial privileges, 194
Montreal, 5, 23, 321
Mørkholm, Otto, 15, 35, 43, 55
Morphilig (ca. 150 B.C.), 47, 59, 60, 67
Mosser, Sawyer M., 8, 12, 27, 31
Mosul, 174-176
Mousheghian, Evgine, 292
Mousheghian, Kh. A., 73, 343-345
Mouterde, R., 39, 42, 51, 55
Muir, W., 144
Musei Imperialis Petropolitani, 326
Museum Notes, 8, 17, 27, 38, 94, 136
Museum of Literature and Arts of Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, 336, 337

Nakhijevan, 344
Nalpantian, H. T., 147, 148, 150
Nathan, Philip, 277, 280
Nazareth, 192
Near East, 81, 89, 97, 112, 178, 194, 256, 312, 313, 348
Necoberry Library, 336
Nemrud Dagh, 39, 41, 44, 51, 53, 57
Nercessian, Y. T., 1, 15, 16, 18, 36, 94, 115, 148, 286, 328, 346-350
Nersoyan, Archbishop, 290, 306, 311
New Julfa, 272, 280, 329
New Julfa, 304
New Testament, 300
New York Public Library, 336
New York, 1, 6-8, 10, 18, 24-26, 29, 273, 275, 276, 280, 291, 309, 312, 318-321
Newell, Edward T., 71
Nicosia, Cyprus, 101
Nike, 45, 57, 71, 77, 84, 85
Nikitin, A., 167
Nineveh, 40, 52
Noah's ark, 277, 287, 289
Nubarian Library, Paris, 96, 314
Numismatic Fine Arts, Inc., 44, 56
Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge, 90, 109, 328, 333
Numismatique générale de l'Arménie, 95, 98
Nur-ad-Din, 182-184, 196, 216-218

Ogden, J., 254, 255
Orbeli, I., 292
Ormanian, M., 144-148, 150, 282-285
Orontes (362-345 B.C.), Satrap of Armenia, 17, 37, 38
Orontes, king of Armenia, 17, 38, 40, 52
Orontids, 17, 37, 41, 50, 53, 63, 347, 349
Oshin (1308-1320), 110, 131-134, 136, 139, 143, 152-169, 246, 327
Oshin of Lampron, 89, 172, 181
Ospringe School (Canada), 4, 21
Ottoman Museum, 328, 331-333
Ottoman Turkish Empire, 2, 19, 252, 265, 281, 282, 285, 323, 328, 331
Ouzounian House, New York, 336
Oxford University, 319, 320

Pagouran of Babaron, 184
palm-branch, 49, 62, 69, 72, 75, 76, 85, 249
Papikian, Hovsep, 277, 280

Paris, 9, 10, 28, 95, 152, 267, 270, 272, 279, 280, 312-314, 319, 324
Parthia, 79, 80, 344
Partzrpert, 89, 147, 173, 181
Paruir, 39, 52
Pearl Harbor, 6, 24
Pegasus, 49, 62, 69
Pellerin, Joseph, 327
Pembroke, Thomas, 327
Persia, 41, 53, 146, 192, 232, 237, 271, 279, 328, 333
Pesant, Roberto, 97, 207, 209
Peter of Angoulême, Latin prelate of Antioch, 187
Philaretus, 88, 144, 172, 174, 195, 200
Philip, son of Bohemond IV, 190, 198
Phocea, 236
Phraates of Parthia, 79
Poey d'Avant, Faustin, 212, 217, 219, 222
poghs, 129, 130, 133, 234
Poladian, Armenak, 9, 13, 27, 32, 33, 136, 319
Polybius, 44, 56
Pompey, 47, 49, 60, 62
Pons (1112-1137, Tripoli), 177, 178, 212, 215
Porteous, J., 205, 206, 208
Pope, 99, 101, 143, 146, 151, 186, 188, 191, 211, 250
Proshian triptych, 308
Ptolomaeus (ca. 163 B.C.), 48, 61, 68
Purdue University, 15, 35
Pushman, Arman, 336

Qalaun, 113, 143
quadriga, 77
quarter double trams, 100, 319

"A Rare Armenian Coin," 8, 26
Raymond I (IV of Toulouse) of St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse (1099-1105, Tripoli), 176, 211, 212
Raymond II (1137-1152, Tripoli), 179, 180, 182, 215-217, 219, 231
Raymond III (1152-1187, Tripoli), 211, 217-222, 224, 226, 231
Raymond IV (1187-1189, Tripoli), 219, 222-225, 231
Raymond, son of Bohemond III and father of Raymond-Roupen, (1201-1213, Antioch), 185, 197, 211, 225
Raymond of Poitiers (1136-1149, Antioch), 178-181, 196, 214
Raymond V of Toulouse (1148-1194, Toulouse), 219, 220
Raymond VI of Toulouse (1194-1222, Toulouse), 219
Raymond VII of Toulouse (1222-1249, Toulouse), 219
Raymond-Roupen (1216-1219, Antioch), 186-190, 197, 198
Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents arméniens, 100, 223
Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents occidentaux, 211
Reginald of Chatillon of Antioch, 181, 196
Regling, K., 46, 59
Republic of Armenia (1918), 253, 347, 349
Republic of Armenia, 287
Revue des Études Arméniens, 14, 15, 34, 36
Reynald of Chatillon (1153-1160, Antioch), 181, 182, 196
Reynald of Sidon (ca. 1187), 97
Reynalds of Chatillon (ca. 1187), 218
Richard the Lionhearted, 185, 197
Richard of Salerno or of the Principate (1104-1108, Edessa), 174, 176, 202-209
Richter, G. M. A., 254, 255
Robert College, 3, 20
Roger of Salerno (1112-1119, Antioch), 177, 202, 204, 206, 207
Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène, 16, 37
Roman Catholic Church, 101
Roman coins, 3, 7, 20, 50, 63, 232, 233
Roman Coins and Medallions Relating to Armenia, 14, 34
Roman coins relating to Armenia, 7, 8, 14, 26, 27, 34, 344-350
Romanus IV Diogenes (1068-1071), 89
Rome, 45, 47, 58, 60, 79, 80, 99, 102, 232, 233, 237, 249, 254, 344

La Roseraie d'Arménie, 308
Roupen I (1080-1095), Baron, 88-93, 96, 172, 177, 195
Roupen II (1175-1187), Baron, 90, 92, 94-98, 184, 185, 196, 197, 330
Roupenian baronial coins, 13, 33, 88-98, 332
Royal Mint, London, 277, 280
Royal Numismatic Society, 13, 15, 32, 35, 81, 343
Rüdt-Collenberg, W. R., 143, 194
Runciman, Steven, 11, 30, 89, 170-185, 191, 201-204, 210, 218, 224, 226
Russia, 232, 255, 263, 264, 282, 283
Ryan, F. R., 204
Ryan Sale, 8, 27

Sabbaghian, Berj, 12, 32, 92
Sabine, C. J., 210, 213, 219-221, 224, 226
Saint Louis, king of France, 193
Saladin, 184, 185, 218, 219
Sallet, A. de, 47, 60, 68
Sames (ca. 260 B.C.), 17, 37, 41-43, 54, 55, 64
Samosata, 41, 54
San Stefano, Treaty of, 282, 283
Sanjian, A. K., 110, 316, 324
Saṛnakounk' hoard, 343
Sargis Mahtesi, 260
Sargis, Yacob A., 271
Sarkissian, Henry V., 238, 267, 277
Sarvantikar, 150, 184
Saryan, Levon A., 135, 142, 152, 235
Sasoun massacres, 283
Sassanian Empire, 344
Saulcy, F. de, 205, 210, 219-223, 226
Saulcy, M. de, 45, 58
Saviour's portrait, 288, 289
Savorgnan, Marquis de, 327
Schlumberger, Gustave, 97, 189, 203-210, 215, 219-226, 231, 313, 329
Schulman, J., 6, 24
Schultz, H. D., 207
Schumann, W., 255
Scult, Tschudin, 273, 279
seals, 109, 111, 331, 347, 349, 350
Sebastia, 1, 18, 88, 171
Sekoulian, Augustinus, 115
Selected Numismatic Studies [I], 1, 16, 18, 37, 234
Seleucia, 185, 190
Seleucids, 40, 45, 48, 52, 58, 61, 232, 249
Seleucus II, 43, 55
Seljuks, 170, 171, 191, 192, 197, 227, 234, 345
Sellwood, D. G., 79
Senekerim of Vaspurakan, 171, 172
Sestini, D., 327, 333
Setton, K. M., 99, 143, 170, 174, 176, 178, 190, 193, 194, 201-204, 210, 221, 222, 224
Sibilian, Clement, 5, 12, 16, 23, 31, 36, 47, 60, 68, 90, 103, 109, 114, 135, 136, 139, 165, 264, 315, 323, 326-334
Sibylla (Princess Dowager), daughter of King Hetoum I, 191, 198, 227, 229, 230
Sibylle (1186-1190, Jerusalem), 218
Sidon, 97
Simon Mansel, Constable of Antioch, 193
Sis, 101, 110, 115, 117, 133, 142, 144-146, 148, 149, 151, 177, 184, 186-188, 193, 197, 234, 245, 252, 263
Sissouan, 90, 95, 98, 109, 246, 308, 330
Sivas, 175
Skevra triptych, 307, 308
Smith, H. R., 240
Smpad (1296-1298), 132, 135-151, 153-155, 163, 164, 166-168
Smpad, Constable, uncle of Levon II, 100, 102
Smyrna, 328, 330, 331
Société Francaise de Numismatique, 13, 32
Some of Us Survived, 1, 18
Sophene, 39-42, 44-49, 51-54, 56-61, 64-68, 232, 343
Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia, 17, 38, 40, 53, 254, 282, 286, 305
specific gravity, 11, 30, 154-156, 242
Spink & Son, Ltd., 6, 8, 24, 27
St. Andrew, 299
St. Bartholomew, 297
St. George, 272, 279
St. Gregory the Illuminator, 271, 274, 279

St. Jacob (James), 297
St. James (Jacob) Alphaeus, 298, 301
St. John, 298, 299
St. Judas of Jacob (James), 298
St. Lazare Island, 317
St. Mark's square, Venice, 318
St. Matthew, 299
St. Mesrop Mashtots‘, 274
St. Nazareth Armenian church, 286
St. Nersēs Shnorhali, 100, 102
St. Paul, 310, 311
St. Peter, 202, 207, 297, 300, 310
St. Petersbourg, 11, 30, 326
St. Philip, 297
St. Simeon, 299
St. Sophia Cathedral, 146, 151
St. Thomas, 299
St. Vartan, 272-274, 276, 279, 280
St. Vartan, Cathedral, 273, 274, 276, 279, 280
State Museum Library of Armenian SSR, 337
Stephane, son of Baron Levon I, 180, 183, 184
Stephen of Ani, 102
Strabo, 46, 47, 58-60
Studies in Christian Caucasian History, 17, 37
Sukiassian, A. K., 145
Sullivan, R. D., 50, 63
Sutherland, C. H. V., 319
Syria, 12, 13, 19, 32, 33, 143, 150, 171, 182, 191-193, 198, 230, 257-260, 290
Syrian (Arabian) deserts, 2, 19

Tabriz, 193
takvorins, 113, 155, 156, 162-164, 167, 168, 234, 246
Talaat Bey, 283
Tancred (1100-1103, Antioch; 1104, Edessa; 1104-1112, Antioch), 173-177, 195, 202-207, 209, 213
tanks, 128-130, 133, 234
Tarsus, 89, 97, 101, 102, 172, 173, 175-178, 183, 184, 186, 189, 195-197, 234, 329
Tatoul of Marash, 172, 173
Taurus Mountains, 89, 91, 172, 173, 195
Tchobanian, A., 308
Templars, 143, 150, 179, 183-185, 187-189, 192, 193, 230
Tēr Hovnaniants‘, P. Harut‘iwn T‘., 311
tetradrachms, 3, 8, 15, 20, 26, 35, 70, 73, 74, 76, 82, 83, 233, 249, 332
Teutonic Knights, 189
Thirty Centuries of Armenian Metal Art, 309
Thompson, Margaret, 15, 35, 201
Thomson, Robert W., 288
thunderbolt, winged, 64
Thyrsos of Dionysos, 42, 55, 64
tiara, Armenian, 39, 49-51, 62, 63, 69, 74-78, 80, 82, 232, 249
Tiberius, 79
Tiflis, 261
Tigranes I (123-96 B.C.), 82, 249
Tigranes II the Great (95-56 B.C.), 3, 6, 8, 15, 20, 24, 26, 35, 46-50, 58, 60-63, 69-76, 79, 81-85, 232, 233, 237, 249-251, 255-257, 262, 332
Tigranes III (20-8 B.C.), 72-74, 77-80, 82, 85
Tigranes IV (8-5 B.C.), 72, 331
Tigranes IV and Erato, Jugate (2 B.C.-A.D. 1), 86
Tigranes V and Erato (A.D. 6), 74, 77
Tigranocerta, 233, 332, 334
Tigris River, 40, 52
Til-Hamdoun, 145, 150, 180, 184, 196
Timoni, 328
Timur, 230
Tiribazus, 329
Toronto, 4, 22, 321
T‘oros I (1100-1123), Baron, 90, 91, 96, 177, 195, 240
T‘oros II (1144-1168), Baron, 92, 96, 144, 177, 179-183, 196, 218, 240
T‘oros (1293-1295), 137, 143, 145-148, 151, 153,
T‘oros of Edessa, 172, 174, 202
T‘oros of Marash, 89
T‘oros, son of Hetoum I, 193
Tortosa, 211, 213
Toulouse, 211-217, 219-221
Toumanoff, Cyril, 17, 37, 40, 41, 42, 44, 48, 52, 54, 55, 57, 61

trams, 3, 11, 20, 30, 99-107, 112-126, 135-141, 147-152, 154, 155, 165, 166, 234, 242-246, 316, 317, 330
Treasures of Etchmiadzin, 304, 308
tree, 86
tripod, 75, 84
Tripoli, 97, 176-179, 185, 187, 188, 191, 193, 194, 197, 198, 210-231
Tristan de Saint-Aman, J., 326, 333
Troxell, H., 49, 62
Tufts University, 15, 35
Turkey (also see Otoman Empire), 10, 29, 33, 251, 282, 322, 343
Turks, 2, 13, 19, 89, 173, 174, 177, 179, 182, 184, 185, 195, 201, 233, 253, 282
Tyche, 74, 83, 86, 249

Umayyads, 204, 344
Uncle Tom's Cabin, 2, 19
"Union and Progress," 283
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 10, 29, 263, 344
Union of Theology Library, N. Y., 336
United States of America, 2, 7, 19, 20, 25, 322, 323, 335
University of California, Los Angeles, 324
University of Paris (Sorbon Nouvelle), 336
University of Toronto, 5
Ural Mountains, 255
Urartuans, 39, 40, 51, 52, 251-254, 324

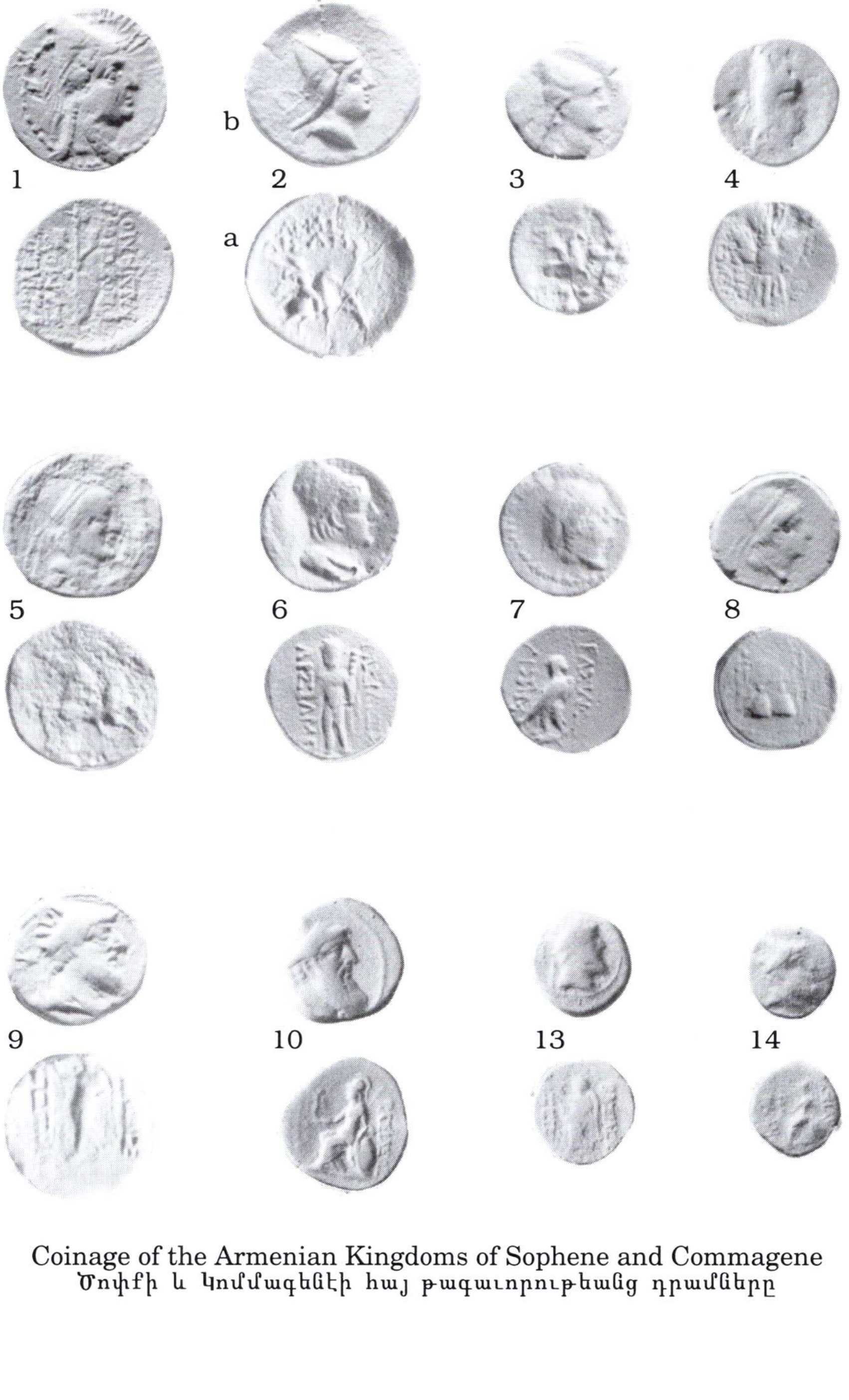
Vahka, castle of, 91, 180, 183
Vahram, lord of Corycos, 189
Van Nostrand, D., 14, 34
Van, 251
Van, Lake, 305
Vasak of Antioch, 172
Vasil of Partzerpert, 181
Vasken I, Catholicos, 276, 277, 280, 312
Vaspurakan, 171
Vatican Library, Rome, 336
Venetians, commercial privileges of, 194
Venice, 96, 136, 257, 265, 312, 314, 317, 318
Versailles, 314, 316
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 322
Victory (also see Nike), 44, 57, 66
Vienna, 10, 14, 15, 29, 36, 42, 54, 81, 96, 103, 107, 264, 312-318, 323, 327-331
Vigne, Compte de, 313
Virgin Mary, 105, 311
Visconti, E. Q., 42, 43, 45, 54, 56, 58
Voelke, W., 307
Vratzian, Simon, 287

Waggoner, Nancy, 15, 35
Walker, John, 10, 29
warrior, 75
Washington, D.C., 321
Watertown, Massachusetts, 306
Werfel, Franz, 2, 19
West, Louis C., 8, 27
Whitting, P. D., 201
William-Jordan, count of Cerdagne (1105-1109, Tripoli), 212, 213
William of Tyre, 222
Wilson, Woodrow, 2, 19
Worcester, Massachusetts, 275, 276, 315
World War I, 1, 2, 18, 19, 283, 321, 322, 343
World War II, 7, 25, 315

Xenophanes, 235
Xerxes (ca. 228 B.C.), 17, 37, 44, 45, 56, 57, 65, 66

Yaghi-Siyan, 174, 175
"Young Turks," 283-285

Zabel (Isabel), Princess/Queen, daughter of King Levon I, 189, 190, 198
al-Zahir of Aleppo, 187, 188, 197
Zariadres (189 B.C.), king of the Artaxiad dynasty of Armenia, 82
Zariadres (ca. 190 B.C.), king of the Armenian kingdom of Sophene, 45-47, 58, 59, 67
Zengi, 178, 179, 216
Zeus, 45, 57
Ziaelas of Bythinia, 41, 54
Zmmar Monastery Library, 336
Zorayan, Vahan, 314



Coinage of the Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene
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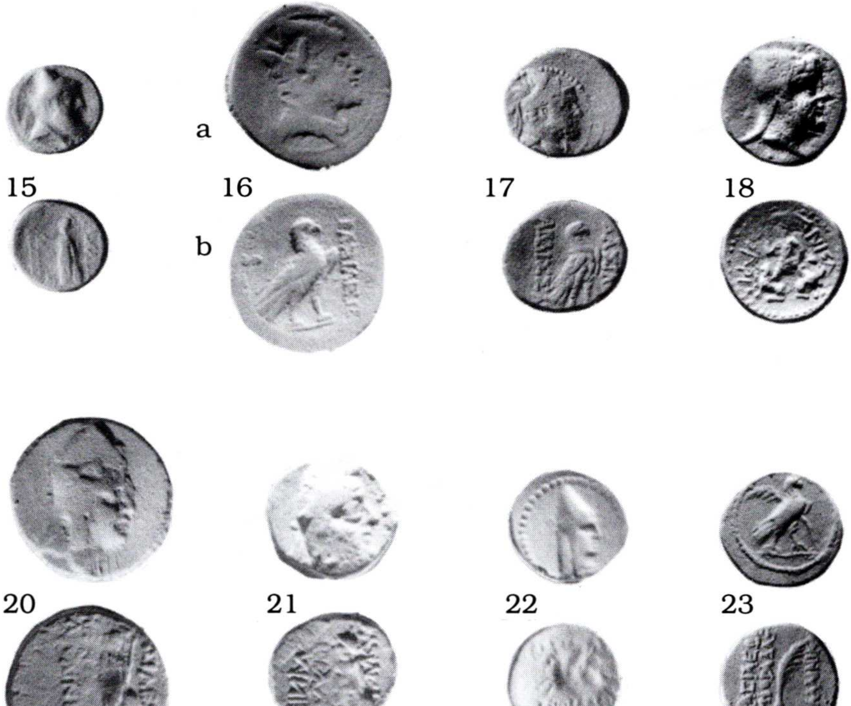

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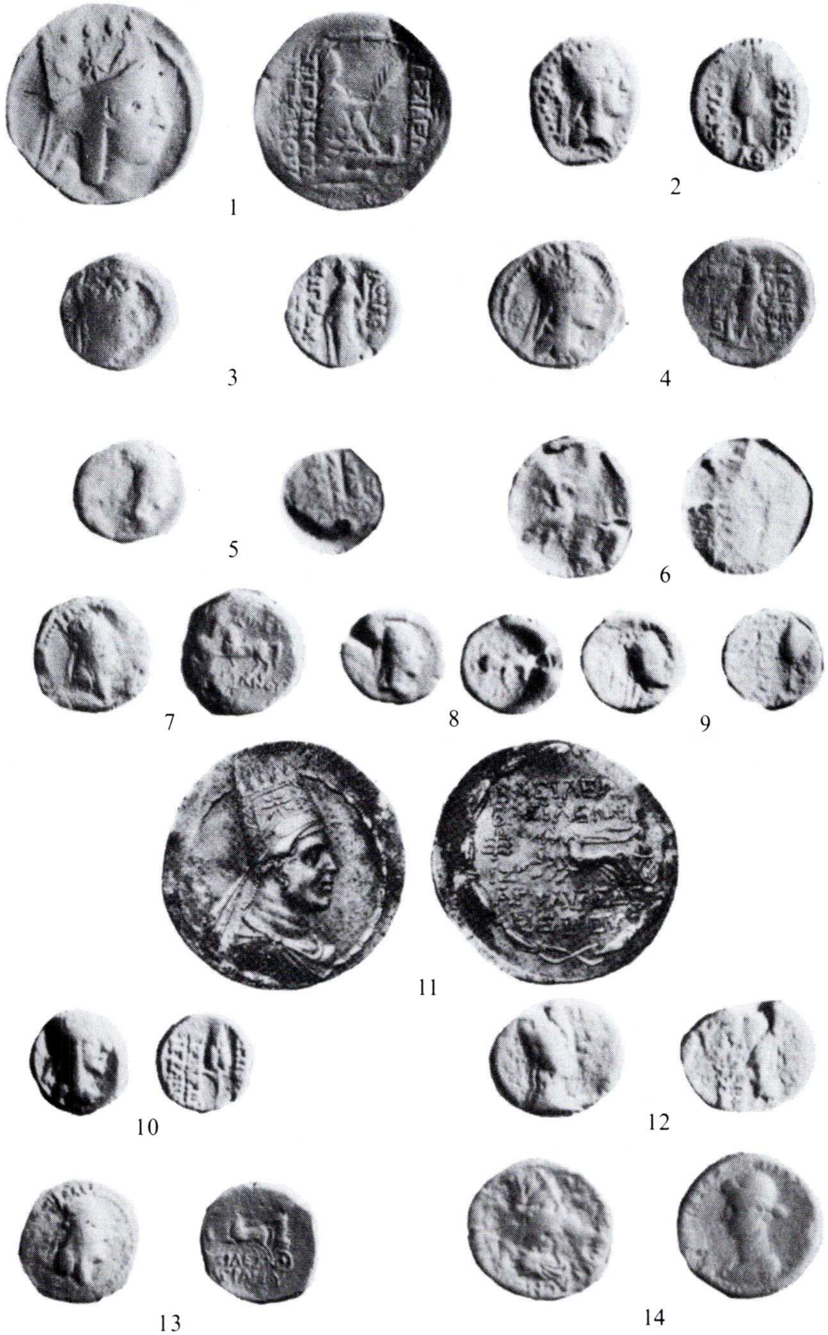
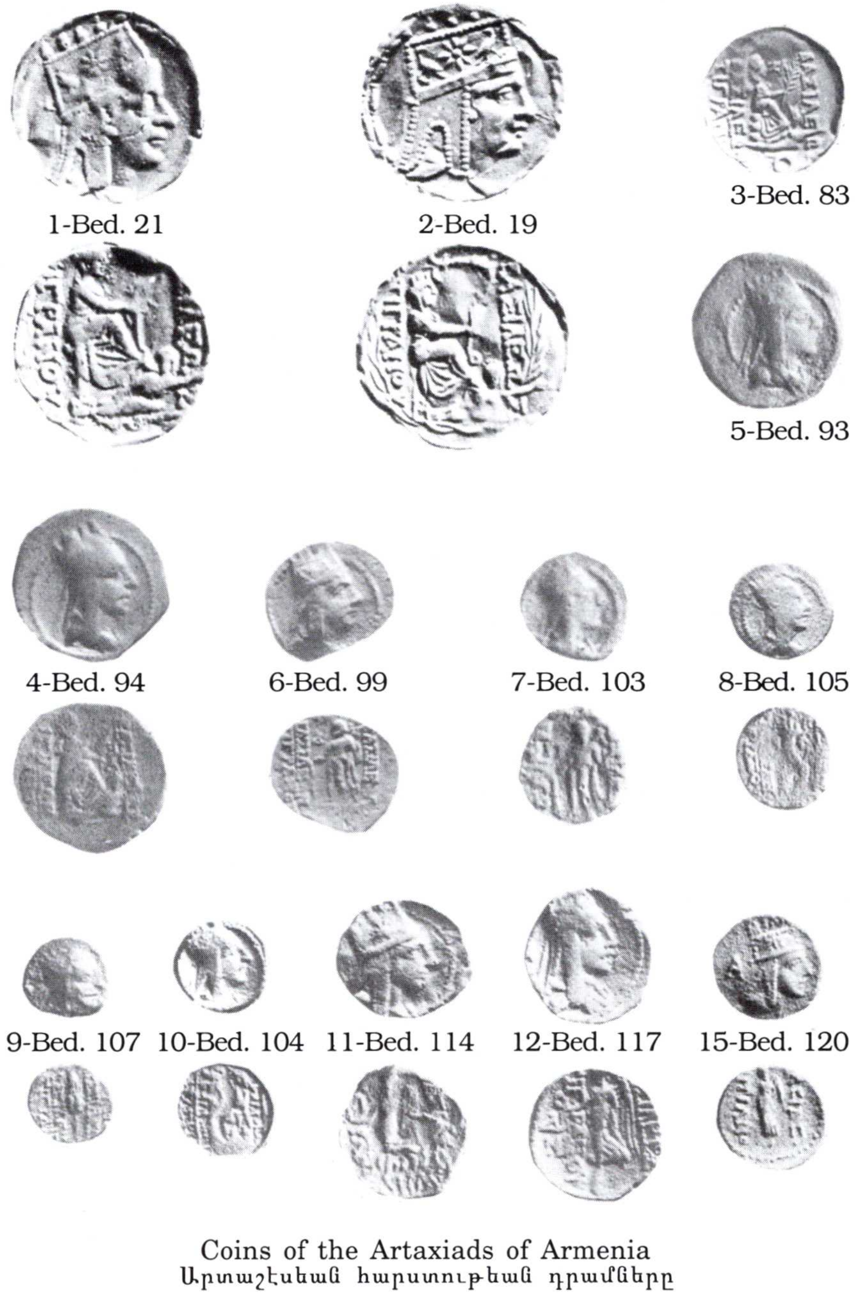


Some Unpublished Coins of the Artaxiads of Armenia



1-Bed. 21 2-Bed. 19 3-Bed. 83

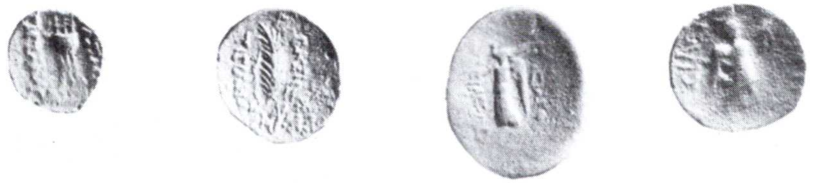
5-Bed. 93

4-Bed. 94 6-Bed. 99 7-Bed. 103 8-Bed. 105

9-Bed. 107 10-Bed. 104 11-Bed. 114 12-Bed. 117 15-Bed. 120

Coins of the Artaxiads of Armenia
Արտաշէսեան հարստութեան դրամները

16-Bed. 122 17-Bed. 121 18-Bed. 132 19-Bed. 136



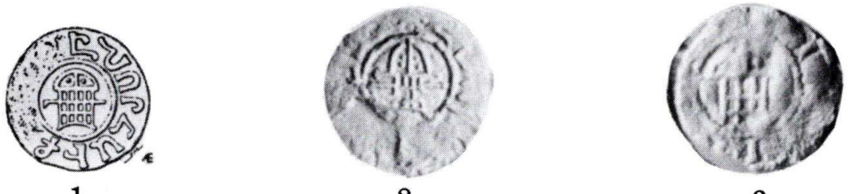
20-Bed. 144 21-Bed. 157 22-Bed. 160 23-Bed. 161

Coins of the Artaxiads of Armenia
Արտաշէսեան հարստութեան դրամները

An Unpublished Coin of Tigranes III (20-8 B.C.)

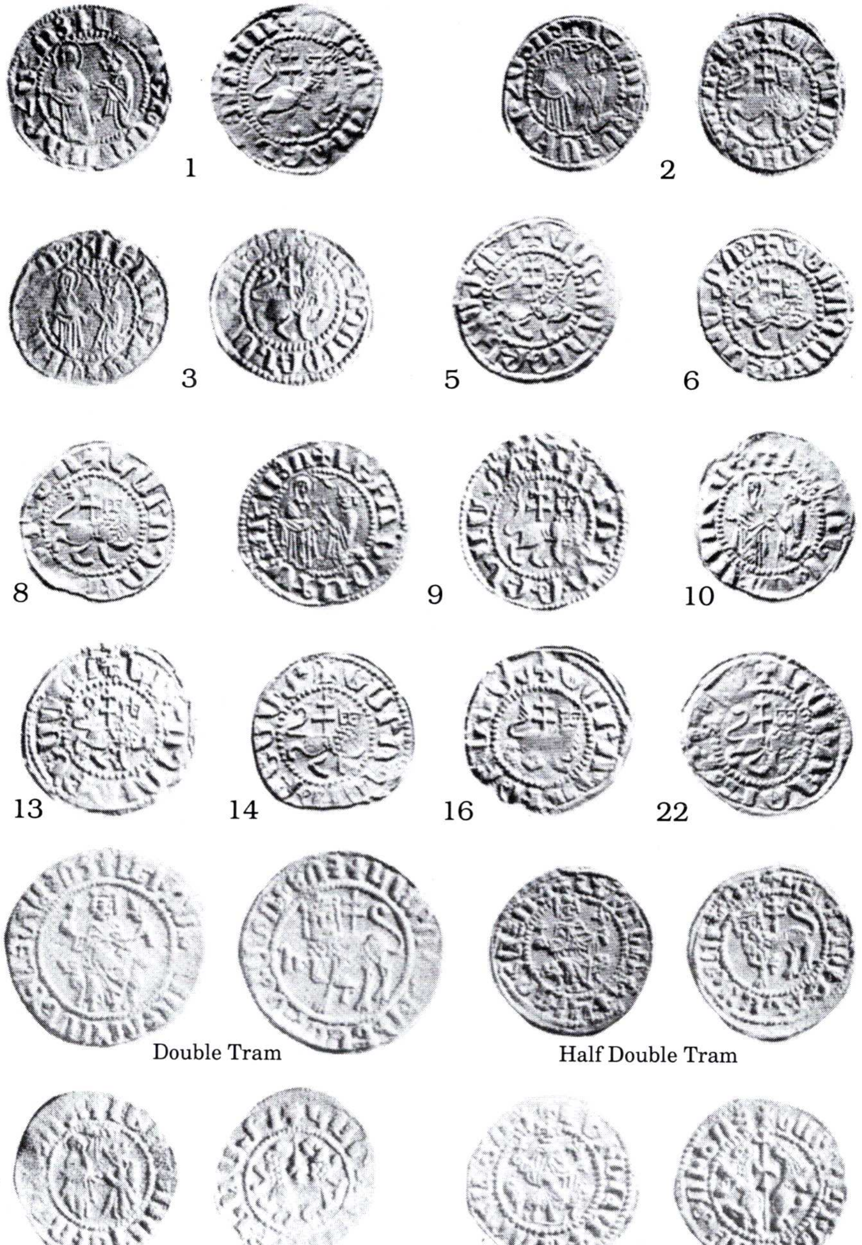
JS-3 **JG-1** **PB-6** **PB-7**

Coinage of Roupen I (1080-1095)

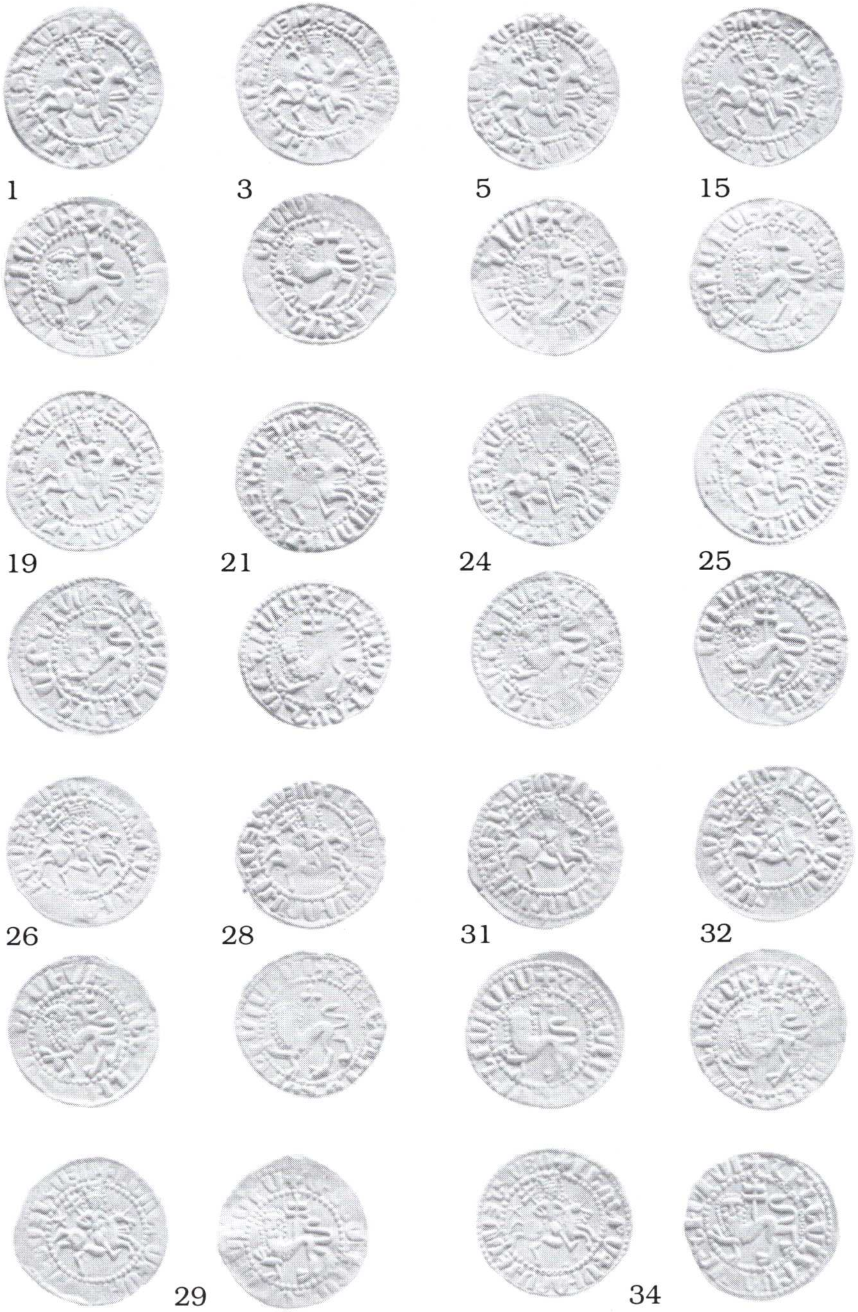


1 2 3

A Rare Copper Coin of Baron Roupen II (1175-1187)



Coronation Coins of Levon I



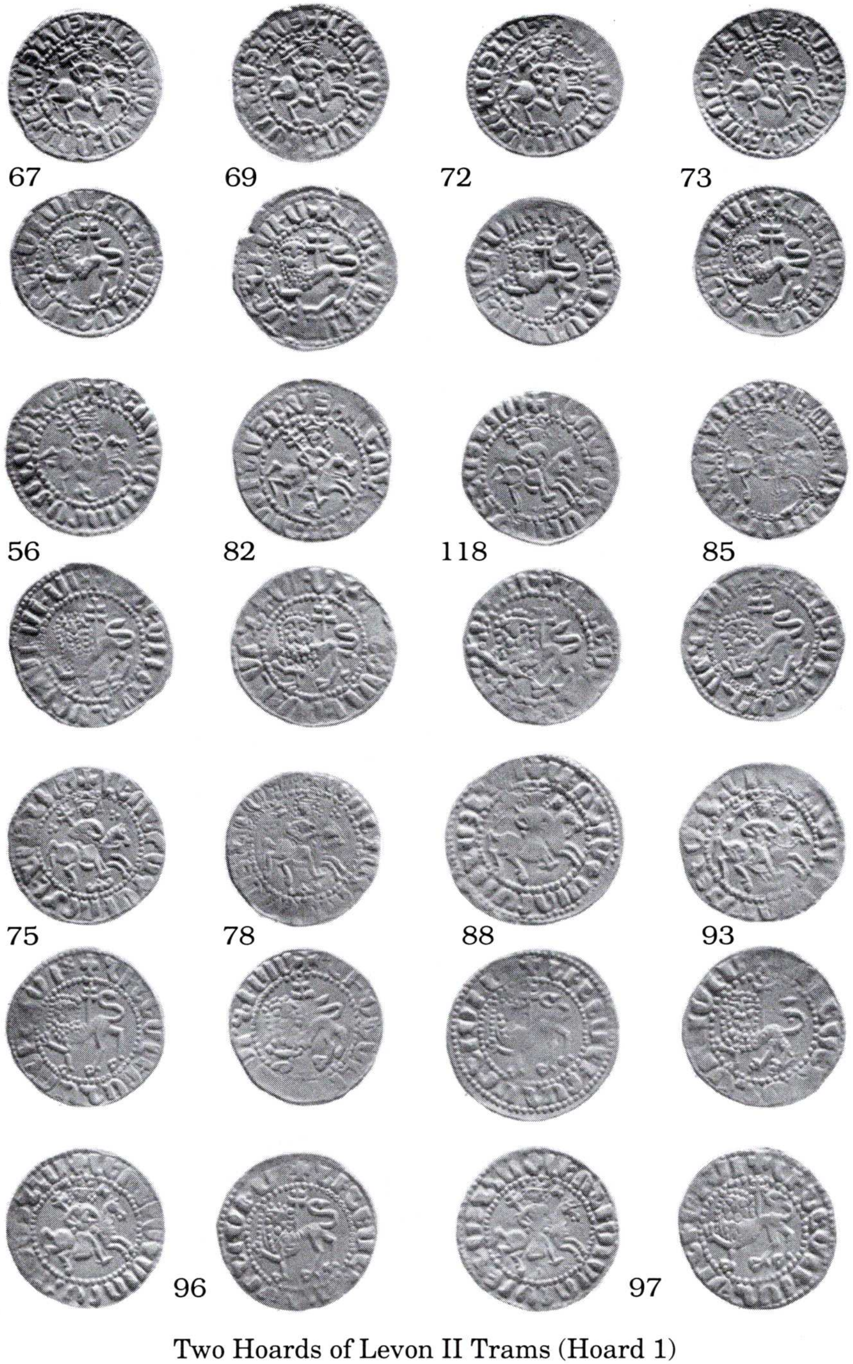
Two Hoards of Levon II Trams (Hoard 1)

36 38 40 43

44 45 46 49

50 52 54 61

Two Hoards of Levon II Trams (Hoard 1)



67 69 72 73

56 82 118 85

75 78 88 93

96 97

Two Hoards of Levon II Trams (Hoard 1)

100 101 105 109

111 117a 126 129

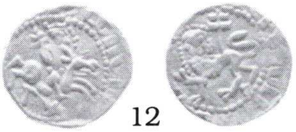
128 130

1 2 3 4 5

Two Hoards of Levon II Trams (Hoard 1)

6 7 8 9 10

11



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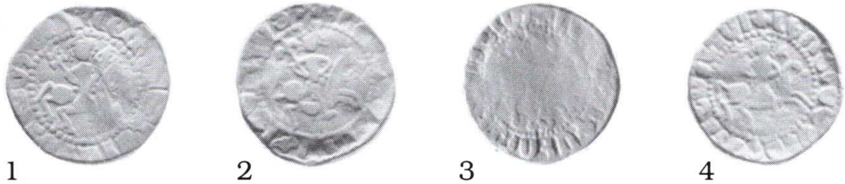


1 2 3 4

5 6 7 8

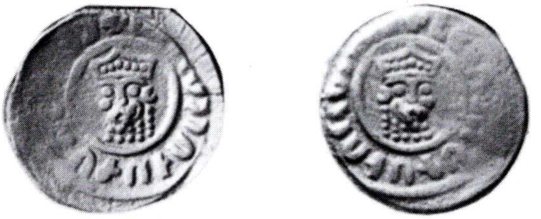
Two Hoards of Levon II Trams (Hoards 1, 2)

11 12 15 16

17 20 25 29

31 32 37 29

Two Hoards of Levon II Trams (Hoard 2)

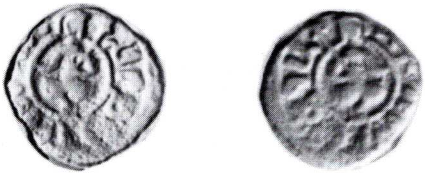


ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ

Fig. 1. Tank of Levon I

ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅ

Fig. 2. Kardez of Hetoum I



ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱ

Fig. 3. Pogh of Hetoum II

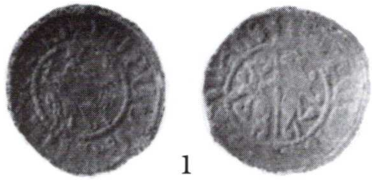
Some Curious One-Sided Coins

Fig. 1. A copper of Hetoum II struck with billon die

Fig. 2. A kardez of Hetoum II lacking king's name

Fig. 3. A Pogh of Oshin lacking king's name

Some Curious Coins from Cilician Armenia



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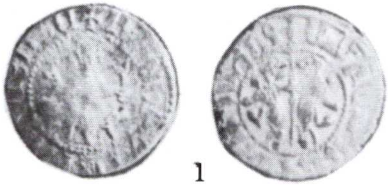
23

A Silver Hoard of Smpad of Cilician Armenia



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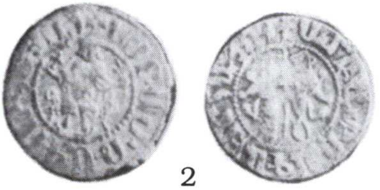

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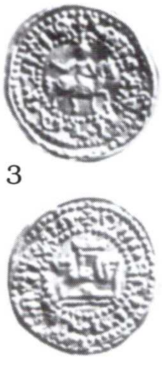

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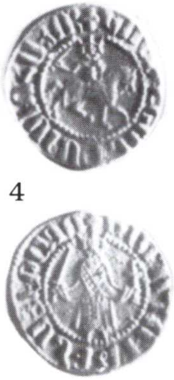

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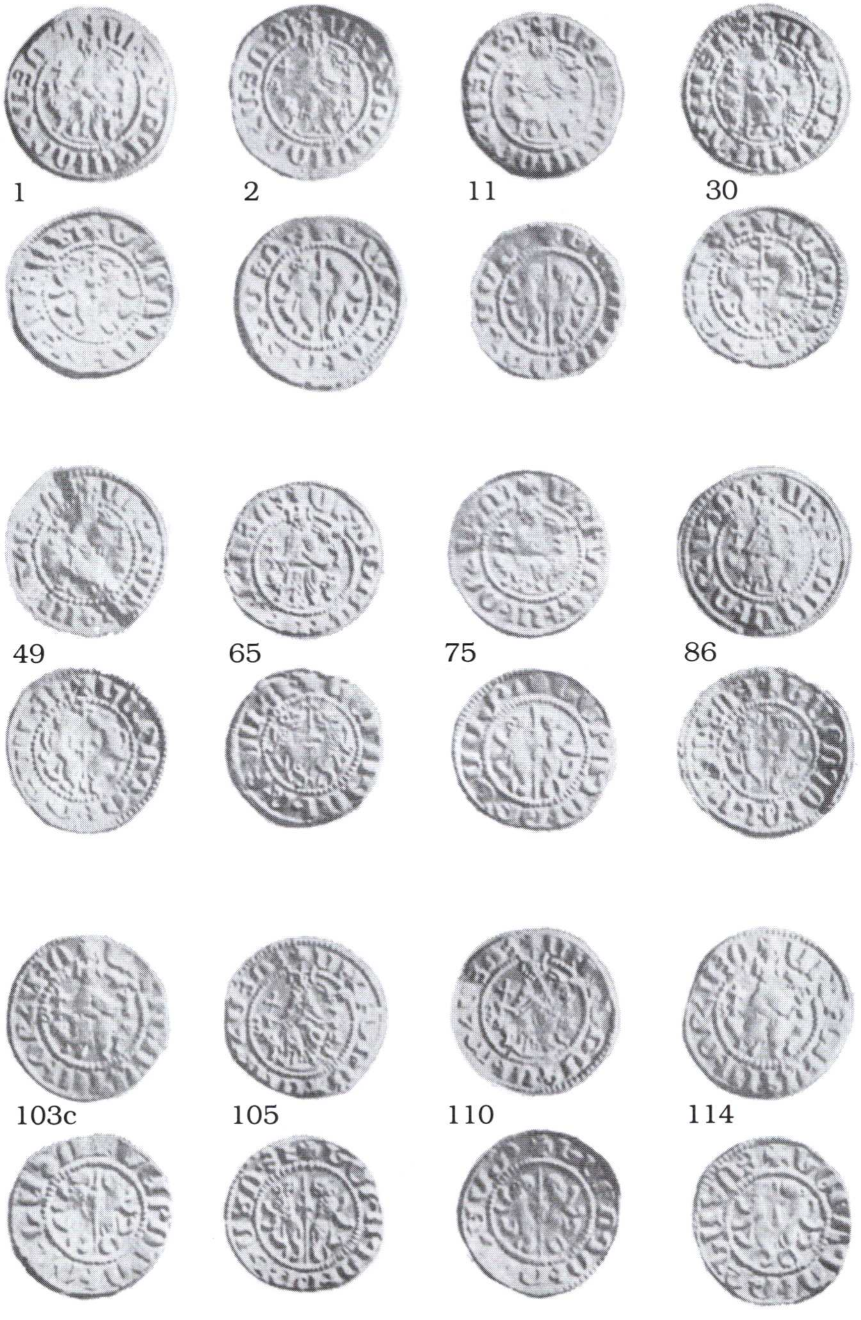
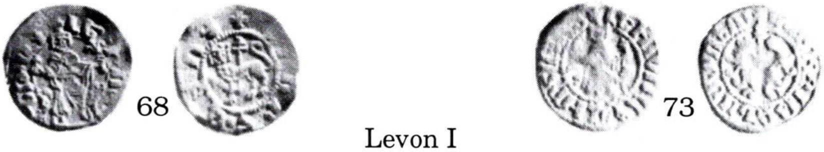
5

Two Unpublished Coins of King Smpad

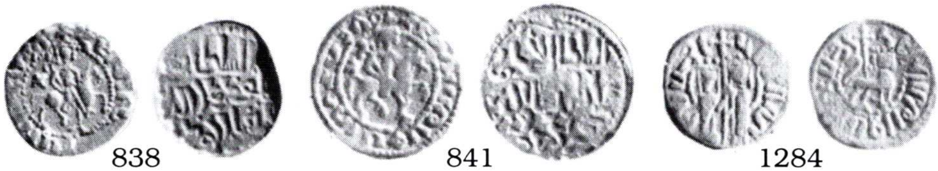


A Hoard of Coronation Trams of Oshin



68 73

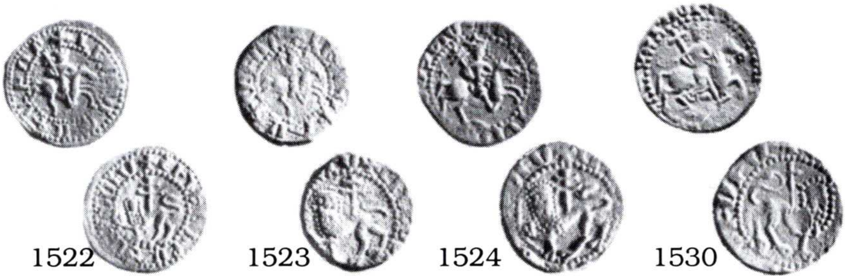
Levon I



838 841 1284

1287v 1288 1292v

Hetoum-Zabel



1522 1523 1524 1530

Levon II

1677 1936b

Smpad Oshin Levon IV

Half Trams of Oshin and Levon IV of Cilician Armenia

(Coin numbers are from the author's corpus)

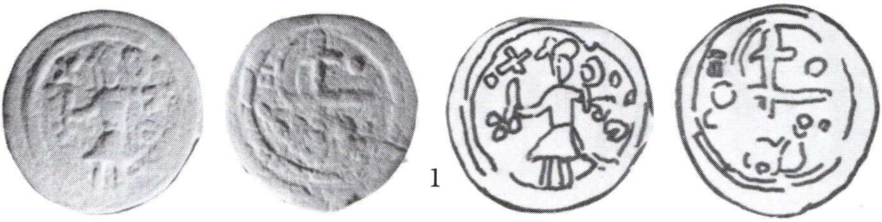
LEVON I (1198-1218)
Billons
Struck for Antioch

ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳՈՐ ՀԱՅԻՈՑ
ԾԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

LEO DEI GRATIA
REX ARMENIOR

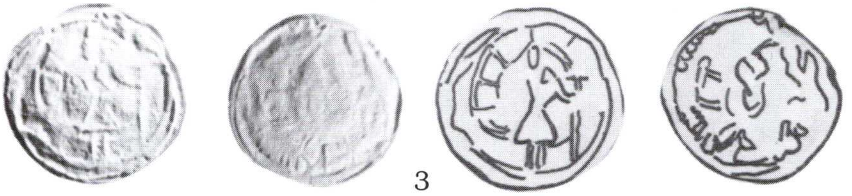
RUPINUS ANTIOCHIA

Cilician Armenia and Crusader Antioch



1

2



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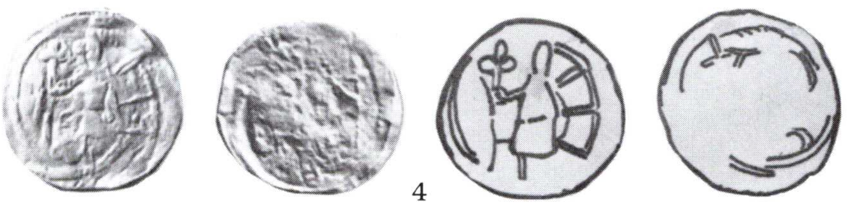

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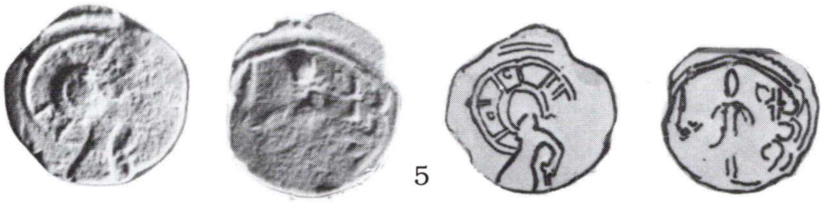


5

The Small, Armed-Man Coins of Baldwin II

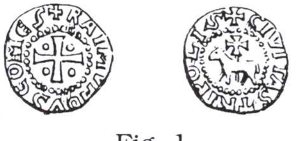


Fig. 1

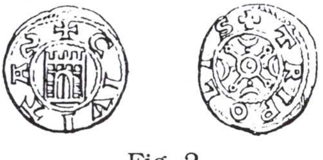


Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

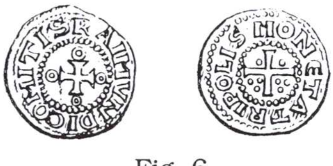


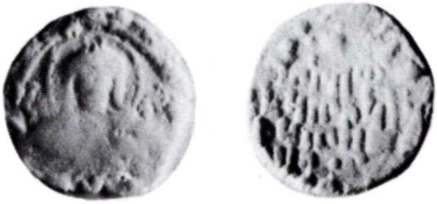
Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Coinage of Tripoli (XIIth-XIIIth Century)

Artaxiad coins: (1) Silver tetradrachm of Tigran the Great (95 B.C.-55 B.C.)
(2) Silver drachm of Artavazd II (55 B.,C.-34 B.C.)



Copper coin of Kiurike of Lori (ca. 1000)

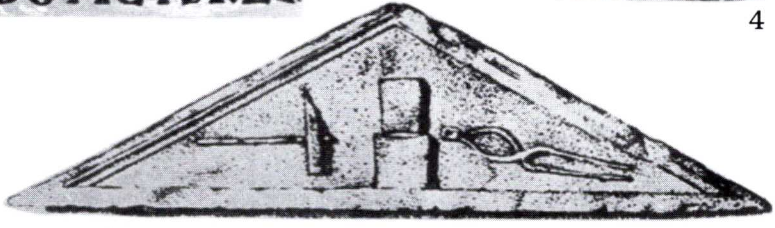
Coins of Cilician Armenia: (1) Silver double tram of Leo I (1198-1217);
(2) Silver tram of Leo I; (3) Silver tram of Hetoum; (4) Copper tank of Hetoum.

Mints and Money, Armenian

1

4

5



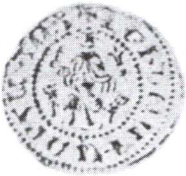
2

6

3

Minting Technique in Cilician Armenia

7



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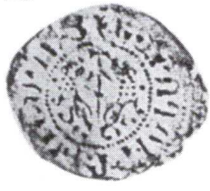

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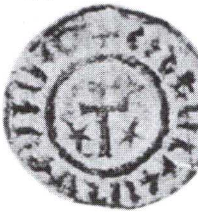

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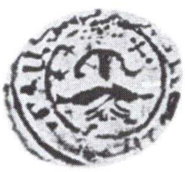
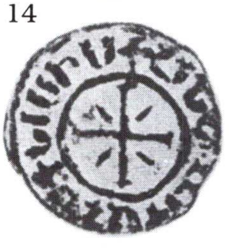
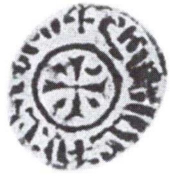
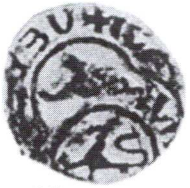
Minting Technique in Cilician Armenia



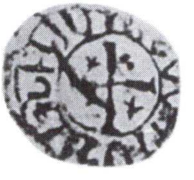
14 15 16

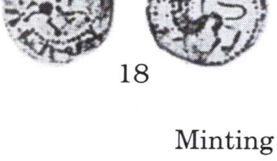






17 19 20





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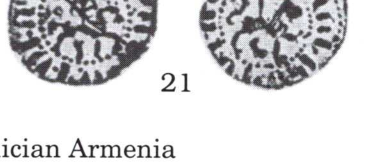


21

Minting Technique in Cilician Armenia

1

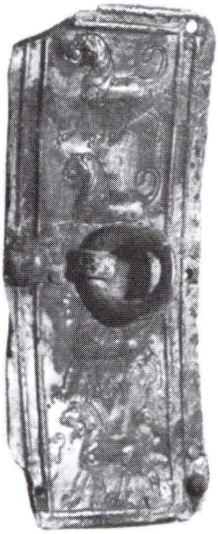
Metal Art in Armenia

3

5

Metal Art in Armenia

2



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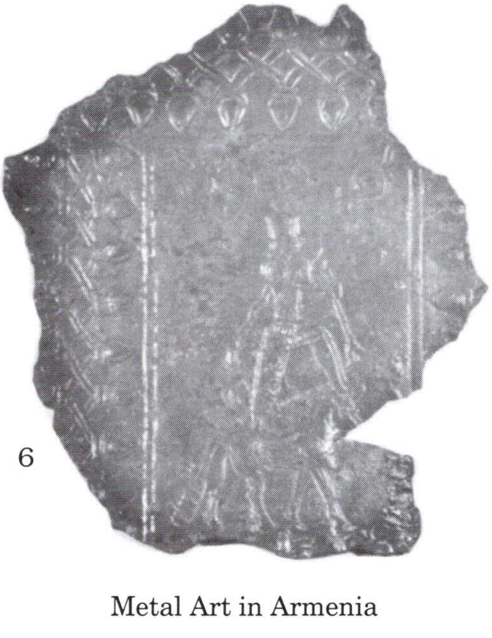


6

Metal Art in Armenia

(An Armenian bowl dated 1623)

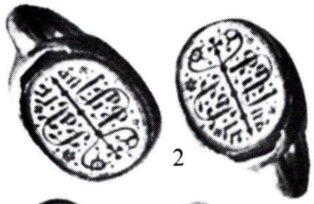
Metal Art in Armenia

1 2 3

Numismatic Art of Armenia

1

1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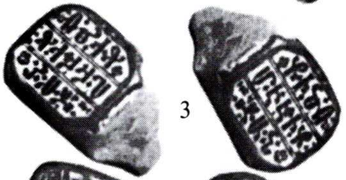
ՓԻԼԻՊՈՍ ՌԺ
ՎԱՐԴԱՊԷՏ ԼԷ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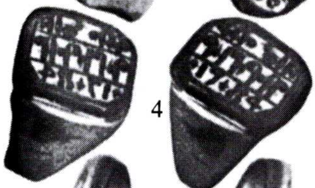
ՔԻԾՌ/ՄԷԼԻՔ/ՋԱՆ
١٤٢(١) = 1241 AH = 1825 AD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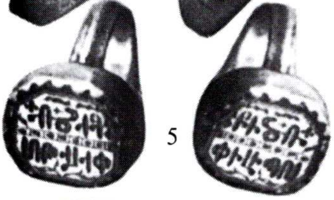
ՔԻԾՌ/ԳՐԻԳՈՐ /17 + 84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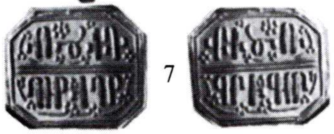
ՔԻԾՌ/ՓԻԼԻՊՈՍ

6

ՔԻԾՌ/ՀԱՅՐԱ/ՊԻՏ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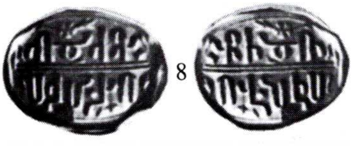
ՔԻԾՌ/ԳՐԻԳՈՐ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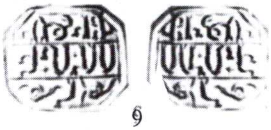
ՔԻԾՌ/ՈՎՆԷՍ

Armenian Ringstones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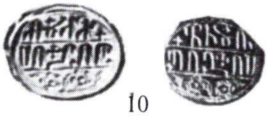
ՔԻԾՌ/ՍԱՄԷ/Լ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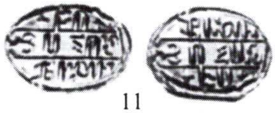
ՔԻԾՌ/ՊՈՂՈՍ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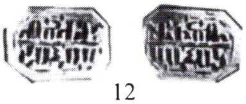
ՔԻԾՌ/ՅՈՀԱՆ/ԷՍ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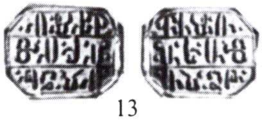
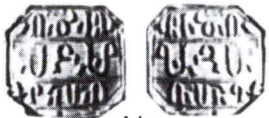
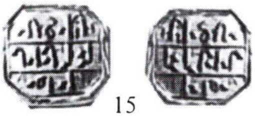
ՔԻԾՌ/ՍԱՀԱԿ


13

ՔԻԾՌ/Ա. ԵԱՅ/ՌՃՁԹ
[ՔԻԾՌ/ԱՆԱՆԵԱՅ/ՌՃՁԹ 1189 + 551 = 1740]


14

ՔԻԾՌ/ԵՂԻԱԶԱՐ/ՌՄԻԳ
[ՔԻԾՌ/ /1223 + 551 = 1774]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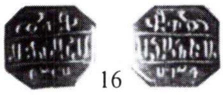
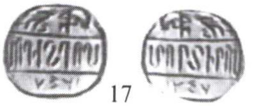
ՔԻԾՌ/ԷԼԲԻՐ/ԻԹ
١٢١٨ = 1218 AH = 1804 AD


16

Ք + Ծ/ԱՆԱՆԵԱ/
١٢٣٤ AH = 1818 AD

Armenian Ringstones



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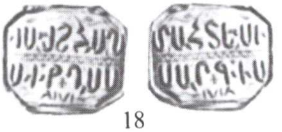
ՔԾ/ՄՈՐՏԻՐՈՍ/ ١٢٤٧
1247 AH = 1831 AD



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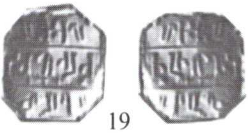
ՄԱՀՏԵՍԻ/ՍԱՐԳԻՍ/ ١٧١٨
١٧١٨ = 1718 AD



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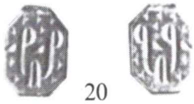
ՄԻՔԱ/ԷԼԻՐՄ ԴԿ/ԱՐԱՊՏ



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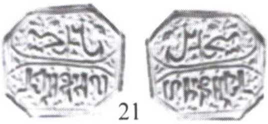
Գրգ = ԳՐԻԳՈՐ



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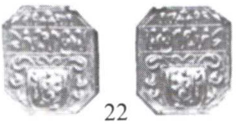
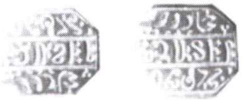
يحايل/*ՄԻՔԱԵԼ*



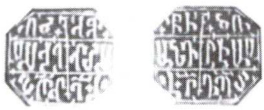
22

17 + 45/სტეფან
[17 + 45/SṬEPAN/*ՍՏԷՓԱՆ*]



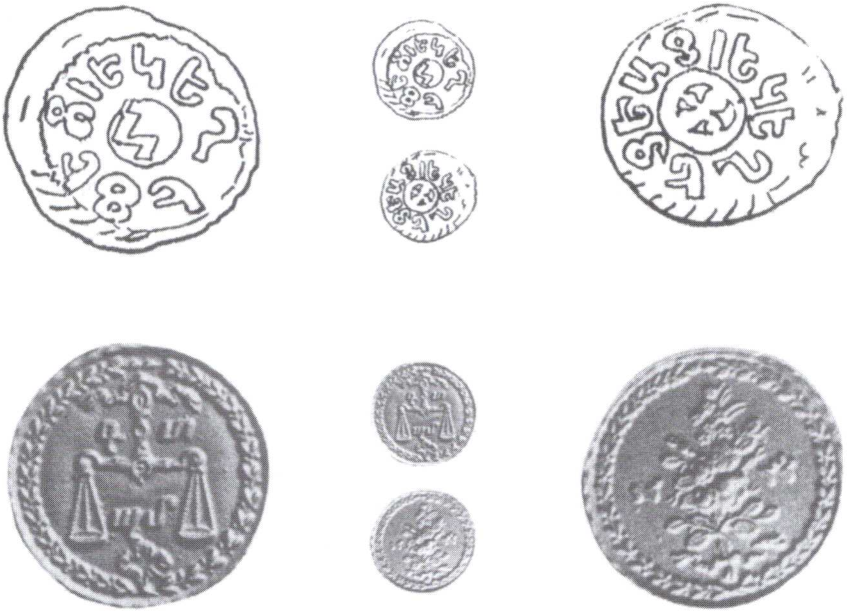
23

خچادور/*ԽՉԱՏԻՐ*/ხაჩატურ



ՔՐԾՌ/ԱՆՌՐԷԱՍ/ՎՐԴՊՏ

Armenian Ringstones



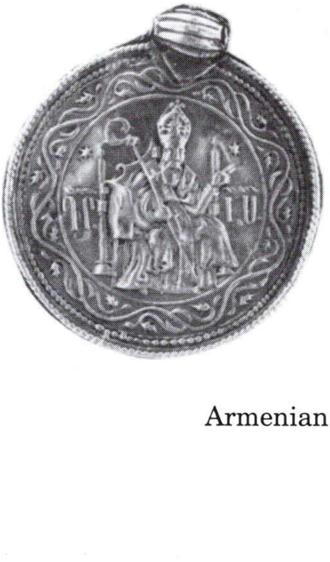
Two Armenian Coins
Երկու հայկական դրամներ

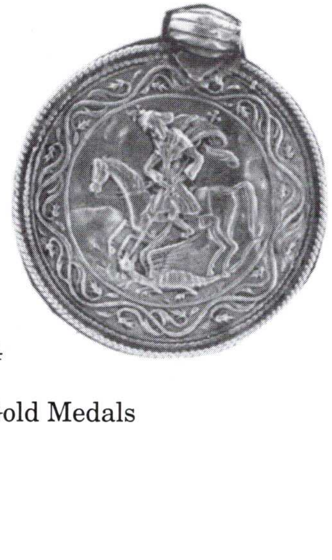
1

Armenian Gold Medals

2

3





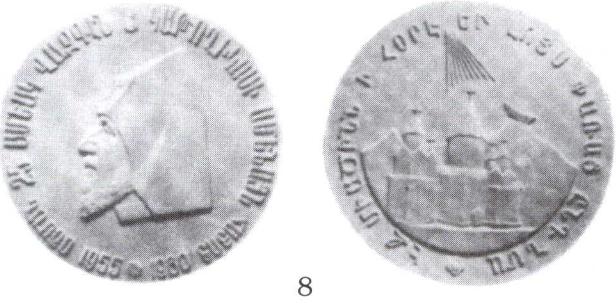
4

Armenian Gold Medals

5 6

7

Armenian Gold Medals

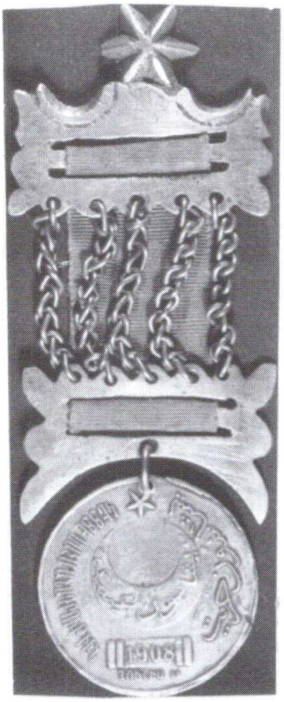


8

9

10

Armenian Gold Medals

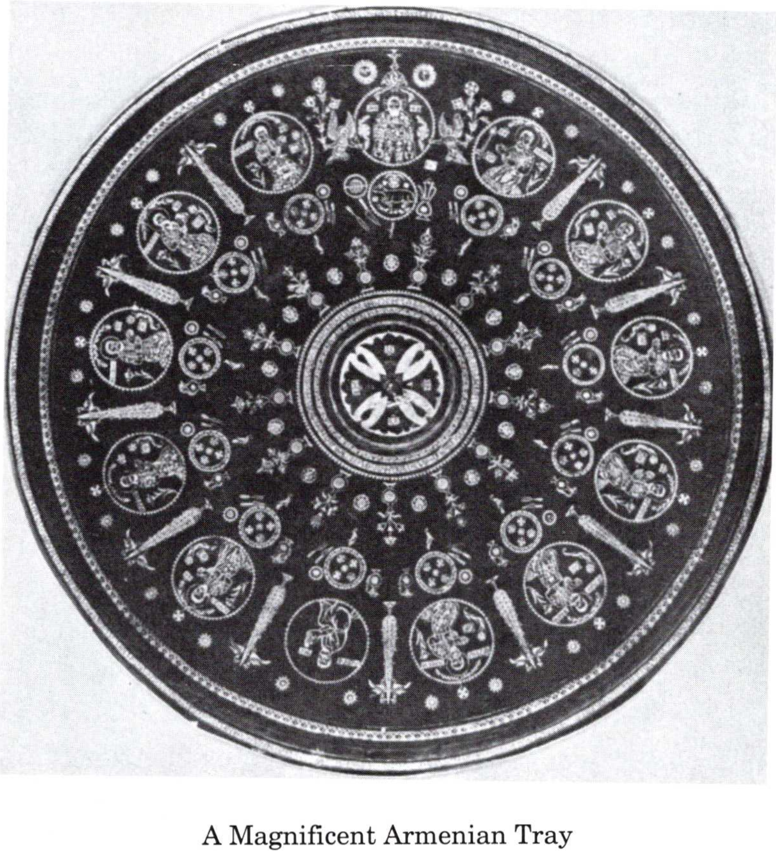


a

b

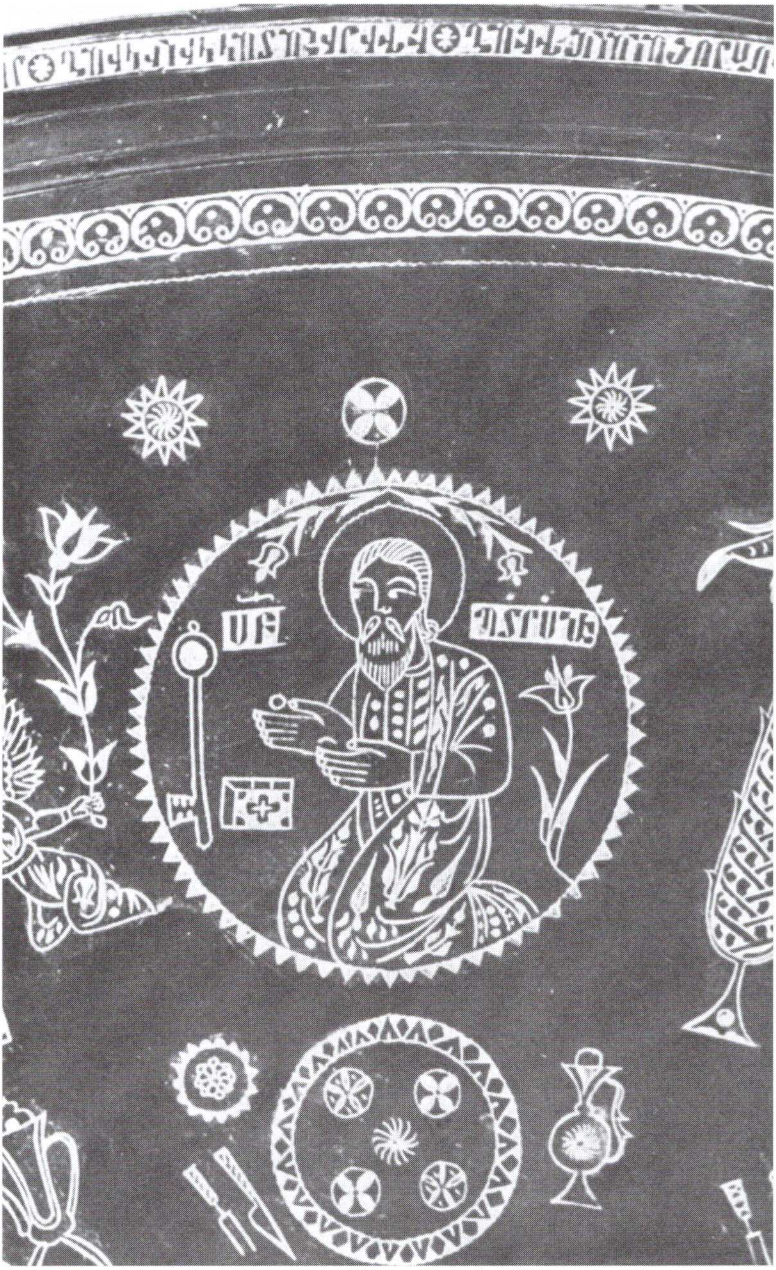
Fig. 1. Izmirlian medal issued during the establishment of 1908 Ottoman Constitution

Fig. 2. A medal of the Armenian College in Calcutta

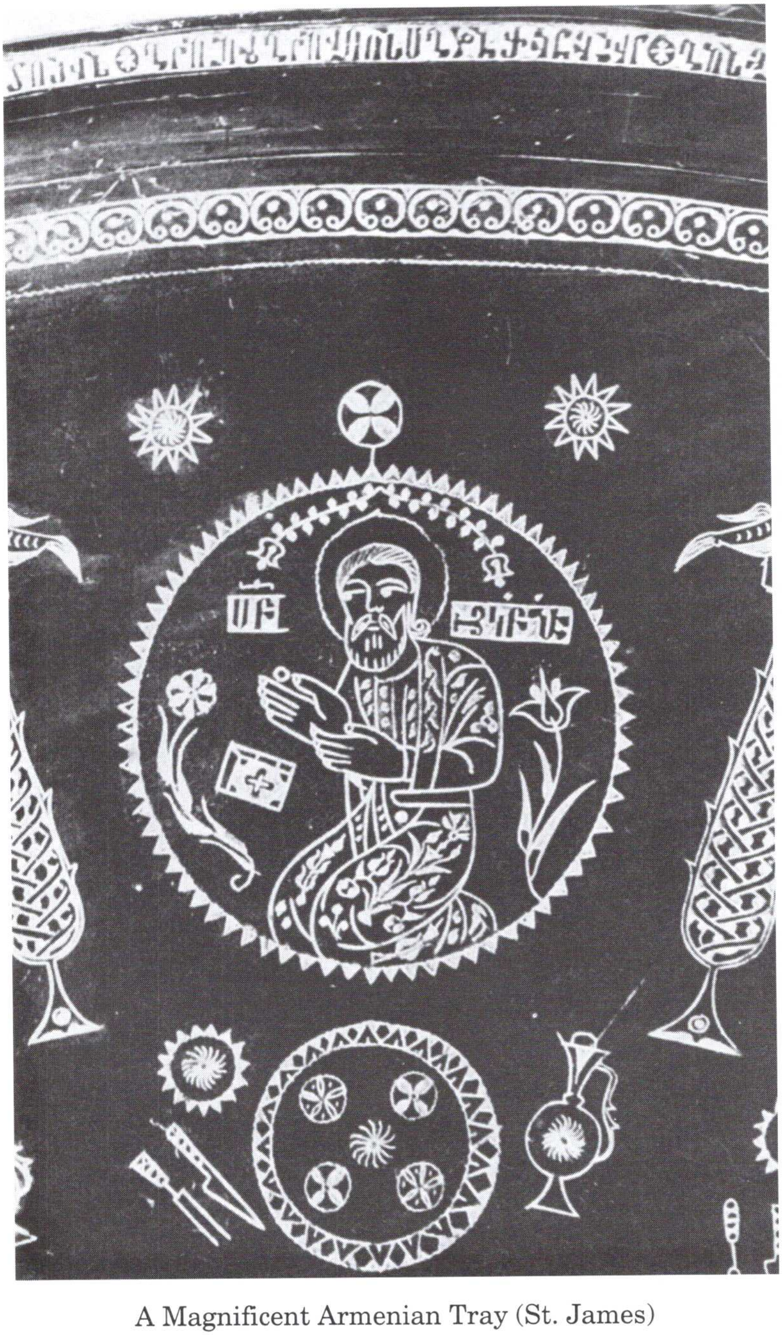


A Magnificent Armenian Tray

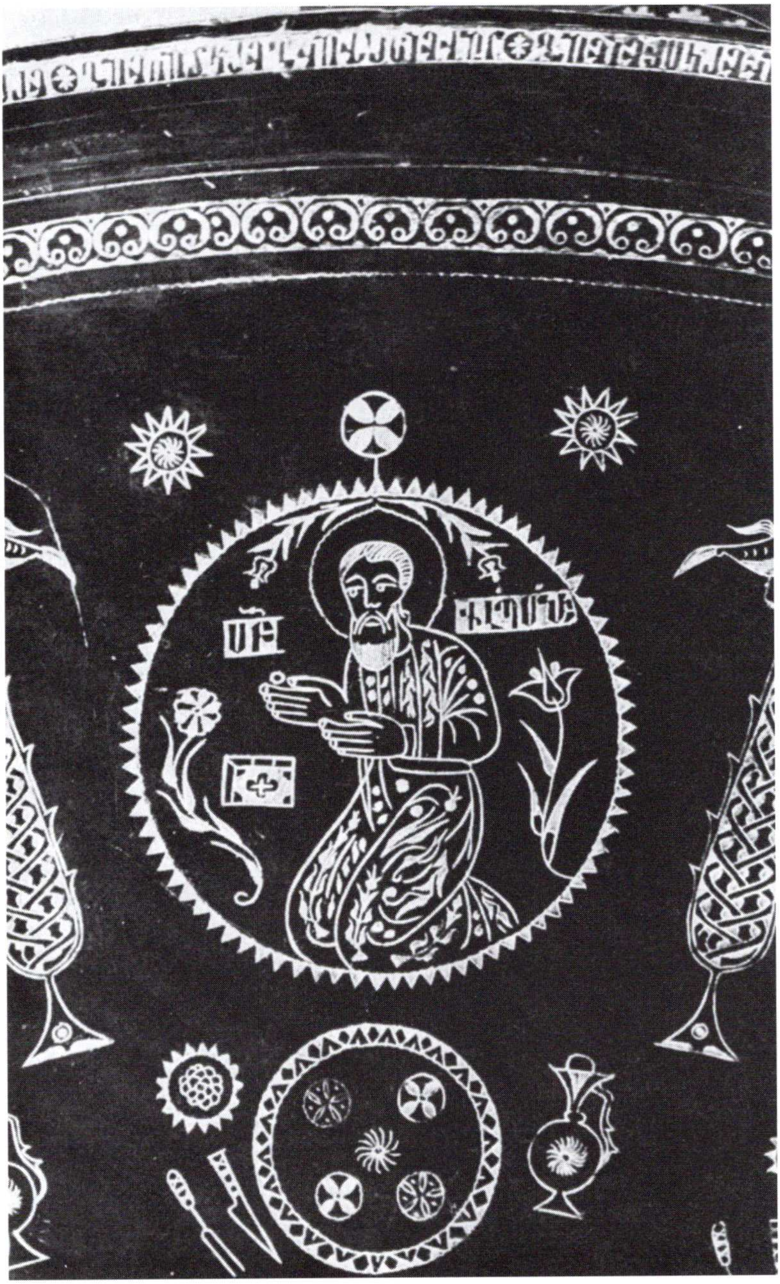
A Magnificent Armenian Tray, Metal Art in Armenia (Jesus Christ)



A Magnificent Armenian Tray (St. Peter)

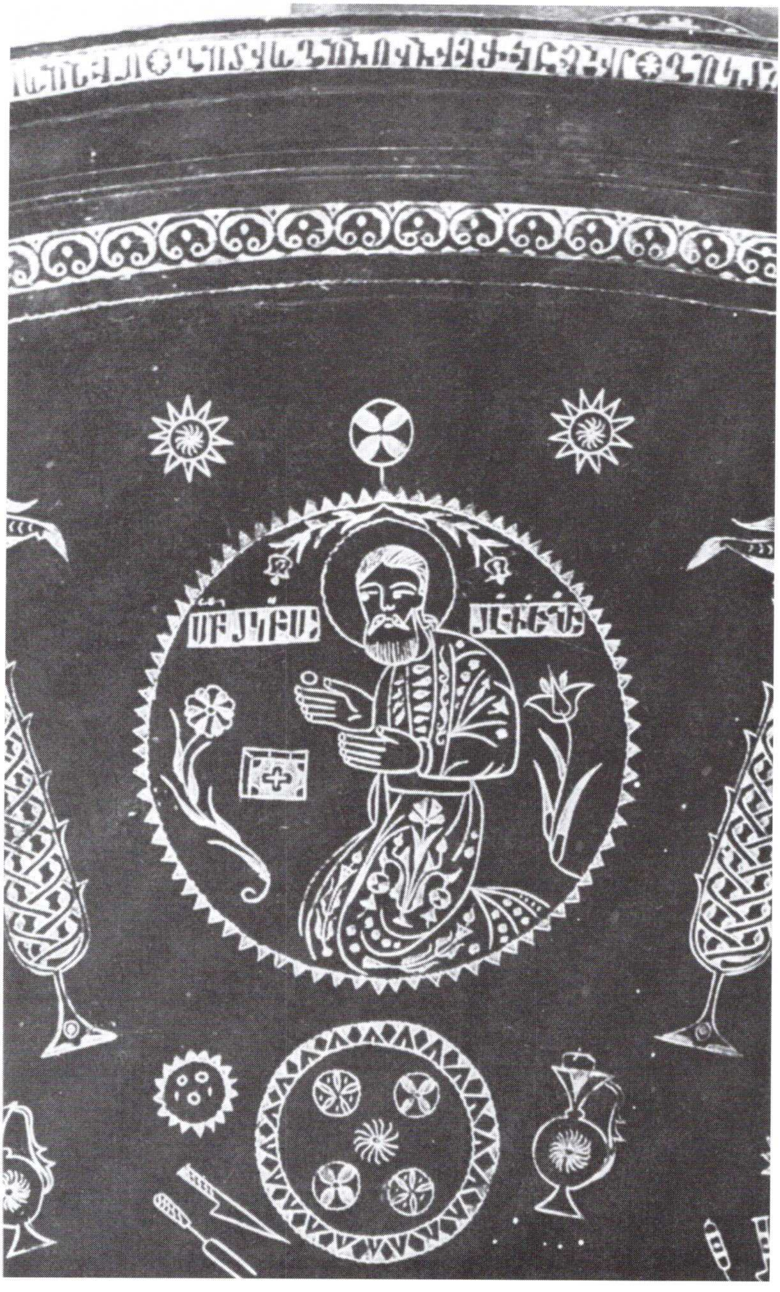


A Magnificent Armenian Tray (St. James)

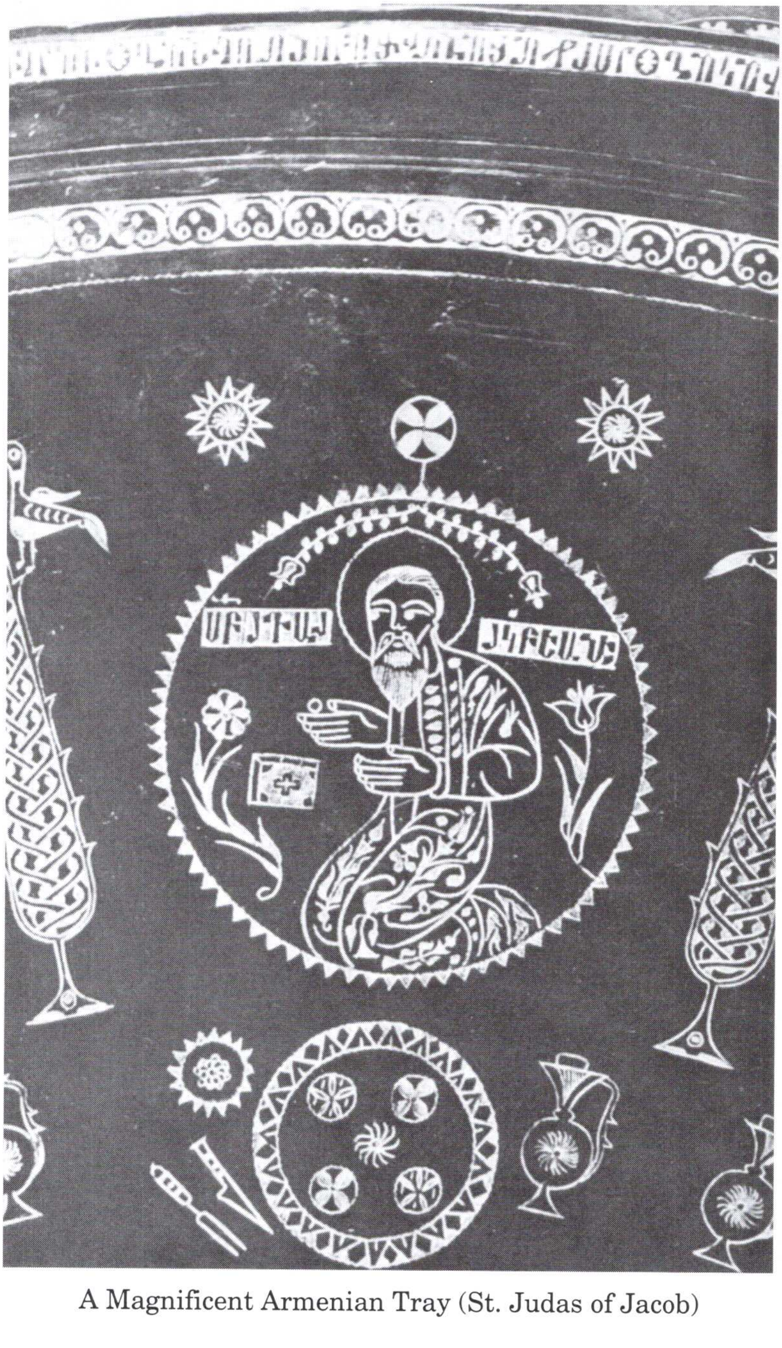


A Magnificent Armenian Tray (St. Philip)

A Magnificent Armenian Tray (St. Bartholomew)

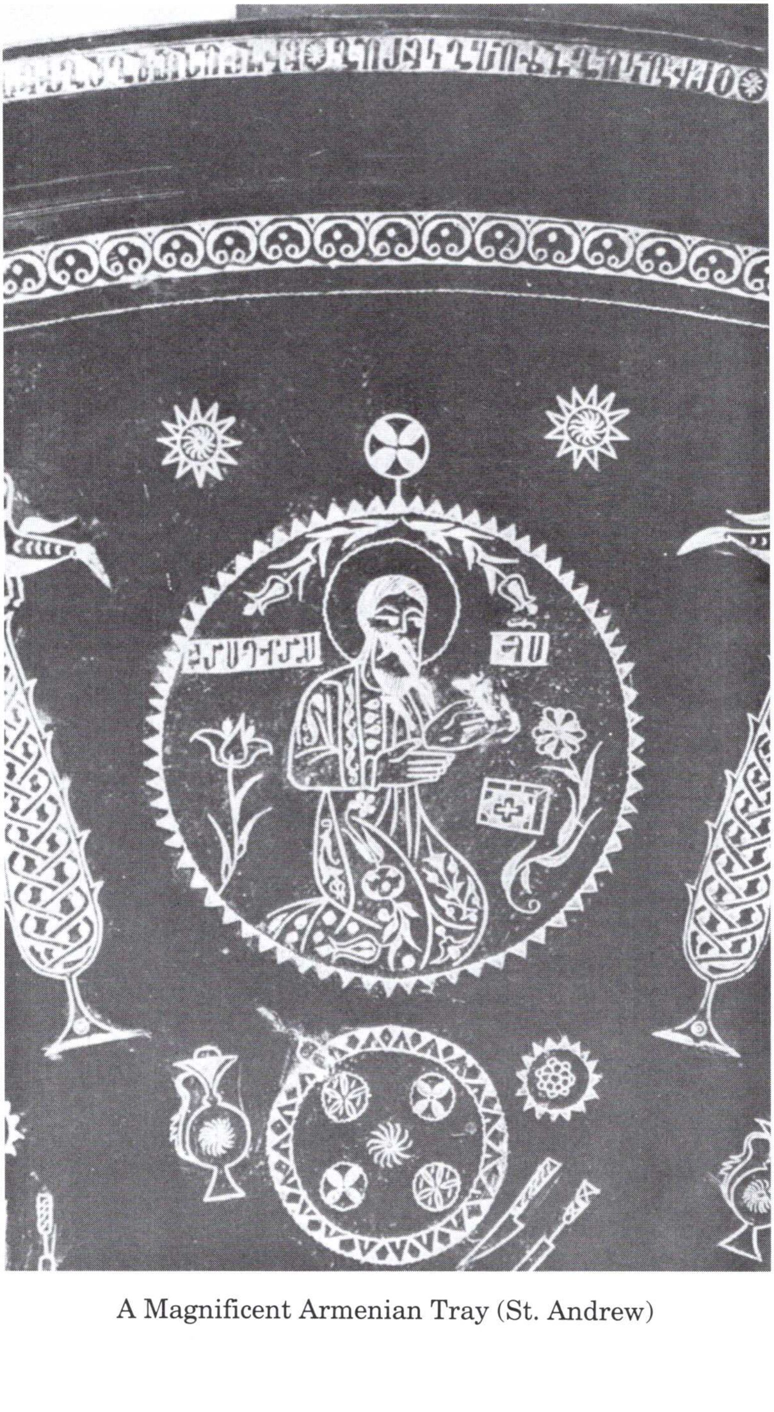


A Magnificent Armenian Tray (St. James Alphaeus)



A Magnificent Armenian Tray (St. Judas of Jacob)

A Magnificent Armenian Tray (St. John)

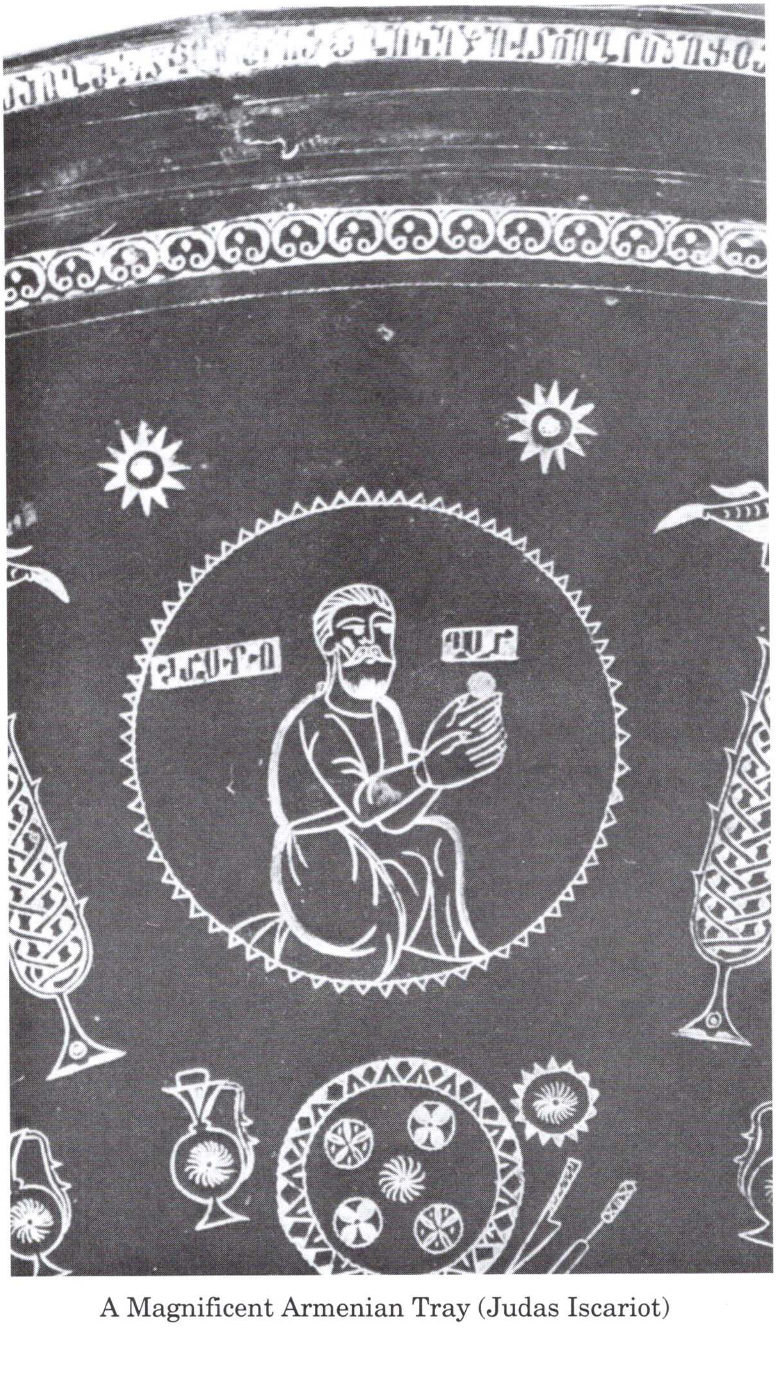


A Magnificent Armenian Tray (St. Andrew)

A Magnificent Armenian Tray (St. Thomas)

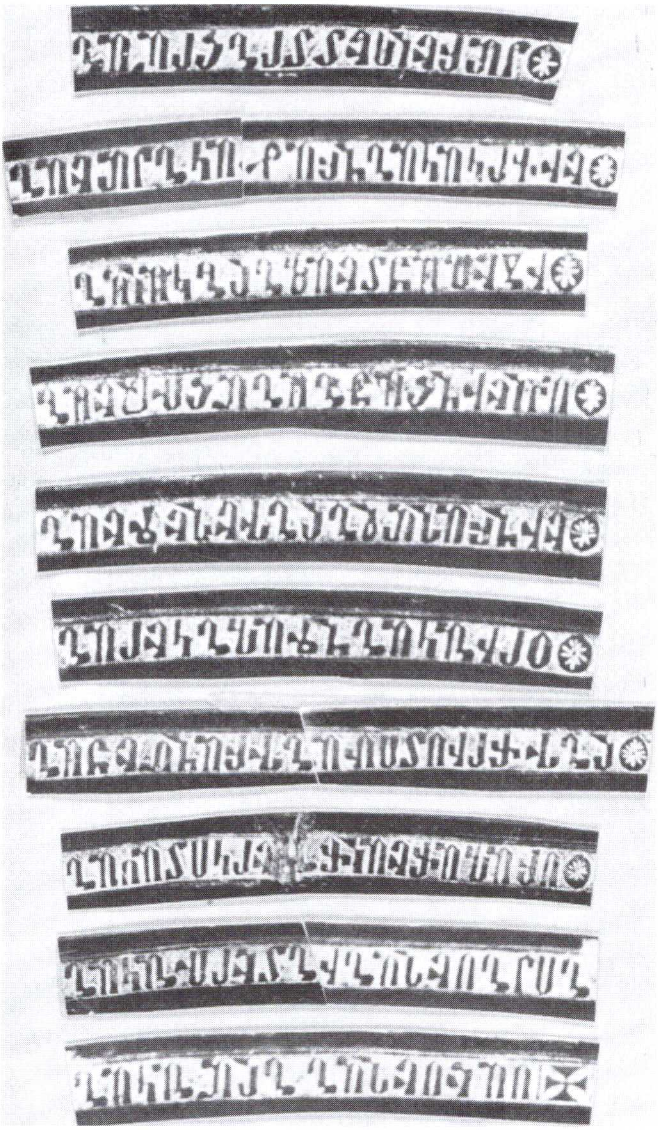
A Magnificent Armenian Tray (St. Matthew)

A Magnificent Armenian Tray (St. Simeon)

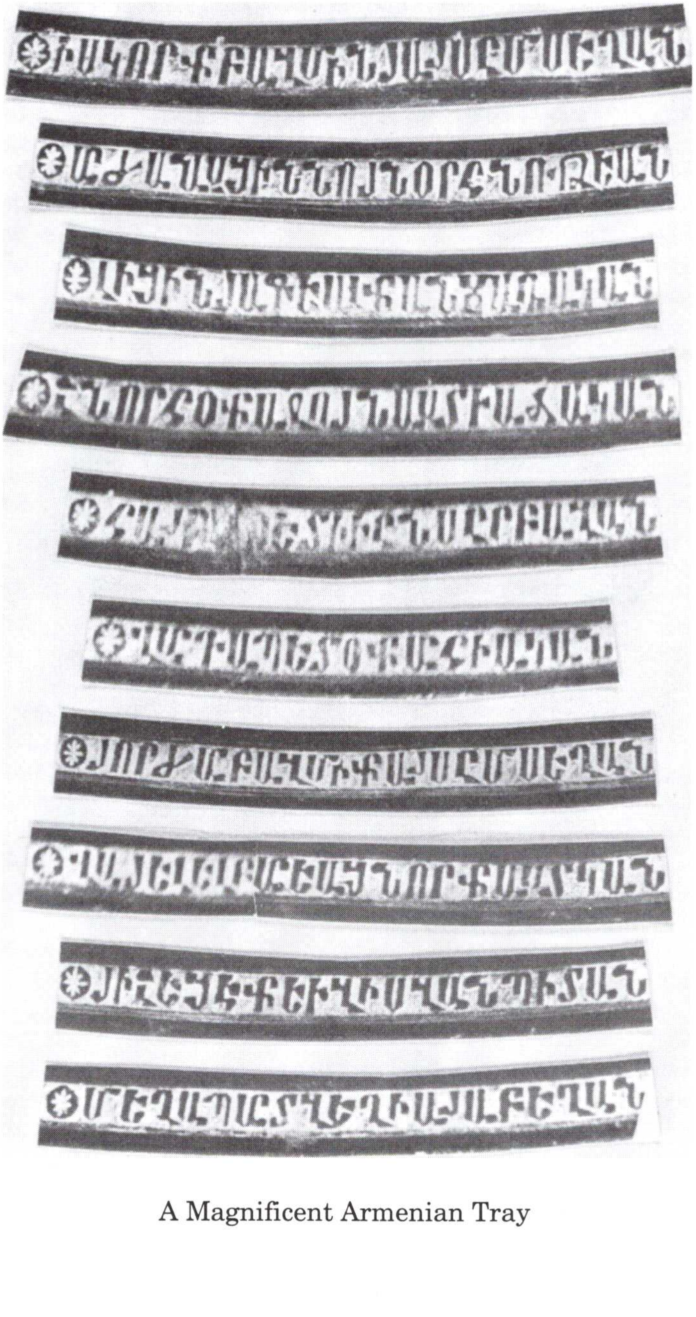


A Magnificent Armenian Tray (Judas Iscariot)

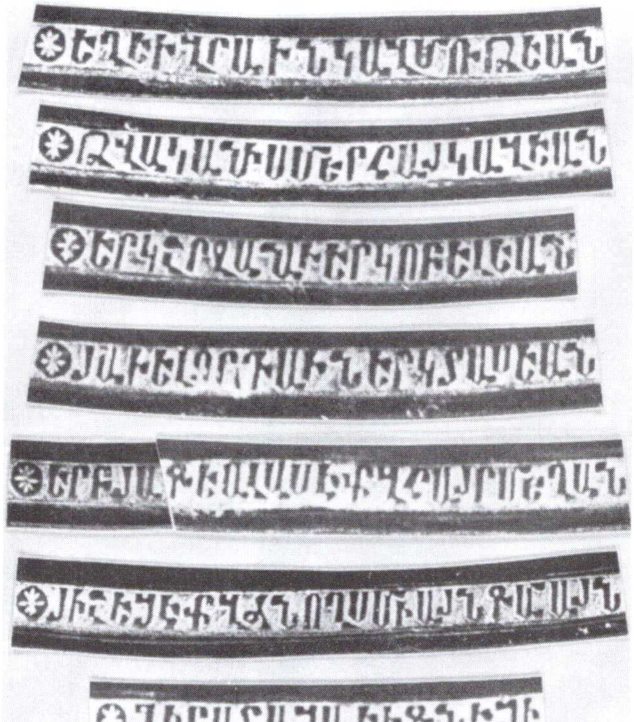
A Magnificent Armenian Tray, Metal Art in Armenia



A Magnificent Armenian Tray

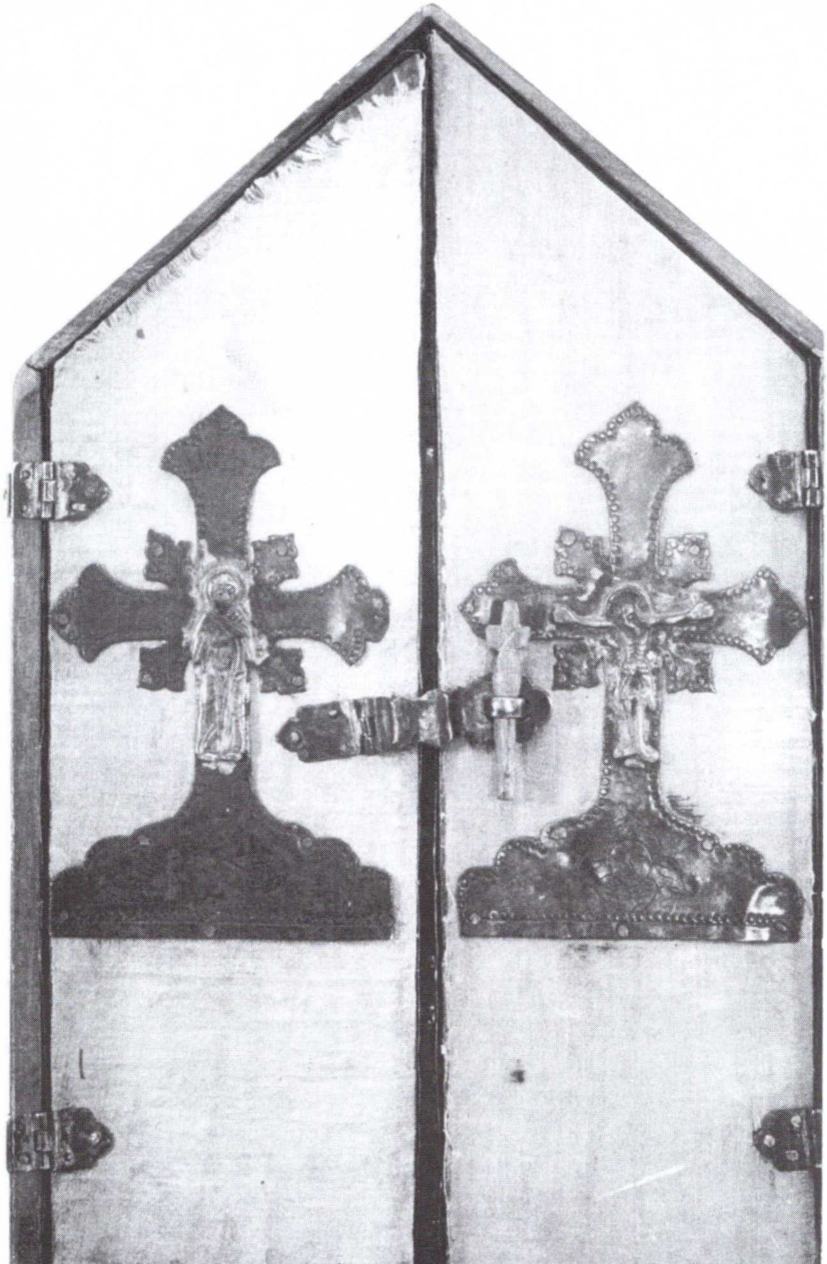


A Magnificent Armenian Tray



A Magnificent Armenian Tray

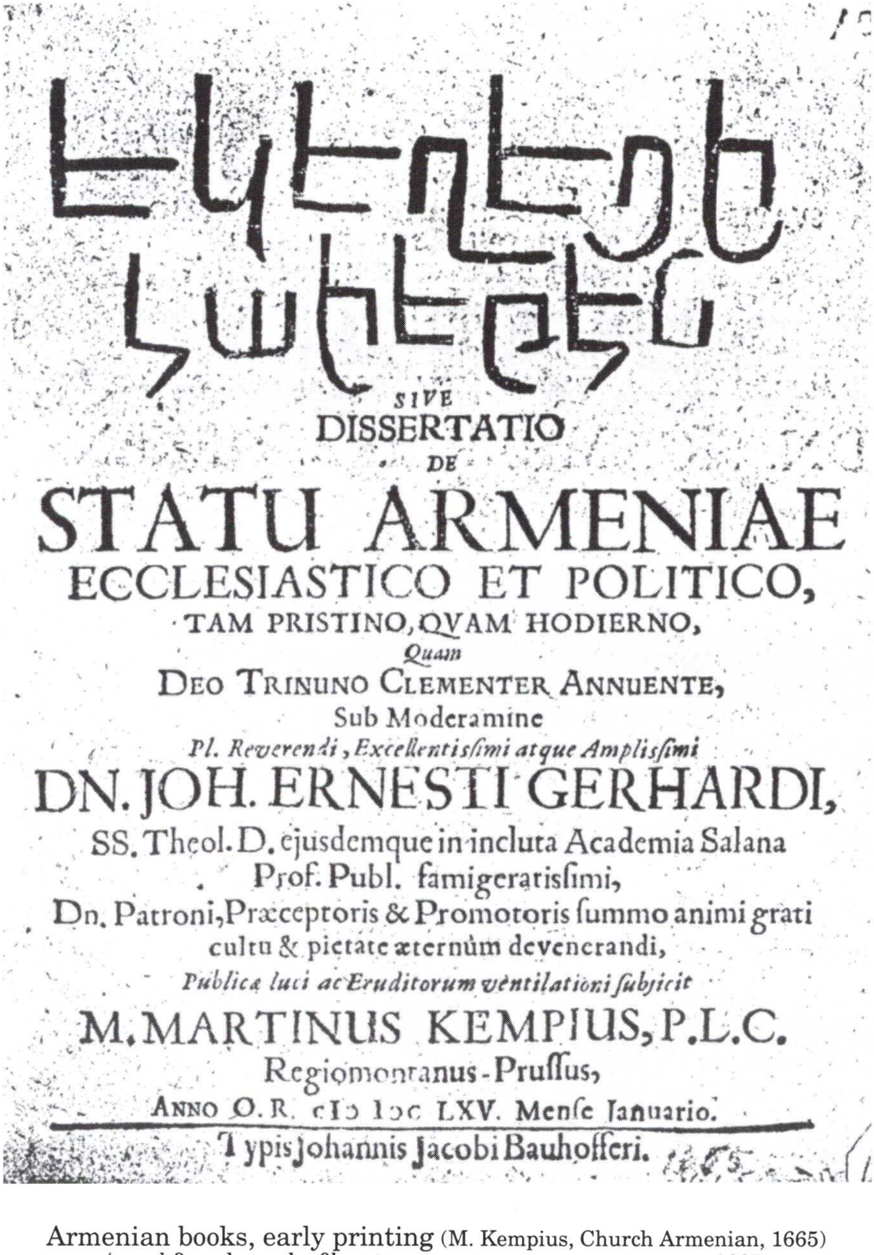
An Armenian Chalice
Հայկական սկիհ մը



Triptych (wings closed)

Triptych (center panel)

Triptych (left and right wings)



ԵԿԵՂԵՑԻ ՀԱՅԵՐԷՆ

SIVE

DISSERTATIO

DE

STATU ARMENIAE

ECCLESIASTICO ET POLITICO,

TAM PRISTINO, QVAM HODIERNO,

Quam

DEO TRINUNO CLEMENTER ANNUENTE,

Sub Moderamine

Pl. Reverendi, Excellentisſimi atque Ampliſſimi

DN. JOH. ERNESTI GERHARDI,

SS. Theol. D. ejusdemque in incluta Academia Salana

Prof. Publ. famigeratisſimi,

Dn. Patroni, Præceptoris & Promotoris ſummo animi grati

cultu & pietate æternùm devenerandi,

Publicæ luci ac Eruditorum ventilationi ſubjicit

M. MARTINUS KEMPIUS, P.L.C.

Regiomontanus-Pruſſus,

ANNO O.R. CIↃ IↃC LXV. Menſe Januario.

Typis Johannis Jacobi Bauhofferi.

Armenian books, early printing (M. Kempius, Church Armenian, 1665)

Հայ հնատիպ գիրքեր (Մ. Քեմպիուս, Եկեղեցի հայերէն, 1665)

Armenian books, early printing (Grigor Tat'evats'i, *Harts'munk'*, 1684)
Հայ հնատիպ գիրքեր (Գրիգոր Տաթևացի, *Հարցմունք,* Ջուղա, 1684)